

SIXTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED JANUARY 24, 1838.

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WITH AN APPENDIX.

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1838.

# REPORT.

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IN a struggle for the emancipation of a people, who have been for centuries groaning in bondage, it would be strange if a day or an hour could pass, without the occurrence of events deeply interesting alike to the friends and foes of the sufferers. What, then, must not a whole year bring forth? The Managers of the State Society are constrained to confess, that, if they should attempt to trace, minutely, the progress of the anti-slavery cause, through the length and breadth of the land, since the last annual meeting, and to accompany such a delineation with elaborate reflections, their present Report would swell to the dimensions of a huge volume. Upon those topics which they have selected for consideration, they propose to dwell with as much brevity as their importance will allow.

The past year has exhibited the American people covering themselves afresh with pollution and blood, and audaciously defying the God of justice in the language of blasphemy. If they were answerable for no other crime, their treatment of the Indian tribes would suffice to justly subject them to the direst punishment that offended Heaven has ever bestowed upon any nation. In ferociousness of spirit, in unrelenting hostility, in meanness and treachery, toward these doomed tribes, it is difficult to find a parallel case in the records of human depravity. The invasion of ancient Rome by the Goths and Vandals—the partition of Poland, and present treatment of its inhabitants, by Russia—the subjugation of the Greeks by the Turks—these examples fail in comparison. It may be safely affirmed, that the war now waging by this nation against the Indians, has an aggravation of guilt, on our part, scarcely equalled by any tribe

or nation, in any age or clime, since the first murderer slew his brother Abel. The recital of the wrongs and sufferings which they are now experiencing, and have been called to endure within the last five years, (a recital not from their own lips, but by those who are engaged in their expulsion or extermination,) is soul-harrowing. The primary object of the South, through the instrumentality of the national government, is doubly atrocious: first, to get forceful possession of their lands—and next, upon those lands to establish slavery, with all its woes and horrors. To accomplish this object is now the great concern of the nation. It must be attained, though innocent blood be poured out like water, though a hundred millions of dollars be expended in the contest, though heaven and earth cry out with their myriads of warning voices against it, though the wrath of Almighty God be kindling like an oven to consume the whole land. Mark the imperious language of Brigadier General Wool, in a proclamation dated at ‘Head Quarters, Army Cherokee Nation, New Echota, Georgia, March 22, 1837,’ and addressed to the civilized, christianized, hapless Cherokees:—‘The President, *as well as Congress*, has DECREED that you shall remove from this country. The people of Georgia, of North Carolina, of Tennessee, and of Alabama, have decreed it. *Your fate is decided*: and if you do not voluntarily (!) get ready, and go by the time fixed in the treaty, [a spurious treaty,] you will then be FORCED from this country by *the soldiers of the United States*....Why not abandon a country no longer yours? Do you not see the white people coming into it, *driving you from your homes, and possessing your houses, your corn-fields, and your ferries*? Hitherto I have been able, in some degree, [probably in no degree,] to protect you from their intrusions: in a short time it will no longer be in my power. If, however, I could protect you, you could not live with them (!)—*Your habits, your manners, and your customs, are unlike and unsuited to theirs* (!)—*They have no feelings, no sympathies, in common with yourselves* (!)—Leave, then, this country, which, after the 25th May, 1838, *can afford you no protection.*’

All Europe and America have ‘rung from side to side,’ with bitter execrations upon the head of the Russian Autocrat, on account of his barbarous treatment of the Poles; but never has he evinced a more sanguinary spirit than this Brigadier General Wool. Yet *he* is only the agent of the American government. The guilt rests like an avalanche upon the whole country. The Southern exterminators demand the sacrifice, and the man-butchers of the North are hunting the victims to be offered up on the altar of slavery!

The experience of every hour confirms the fearful truth, that, of all systems of villany, slavery is the most prolific with crimes; and that, of all wrong-doers, slaveholders are the most ferocious and incorrigible. Whatever their pretensions to patriotism, or virtue, or generosity, or self-respect, or piety, may be, the fact is incontestible that, as a body, none are so base, none so profligate, none so mean, none so degraded, none so impious, as themselves. In their treatment of all those whose skins are not colored like their own, they manifest that they neither fear God nor regard man. To the charge that they have been unduly censured, it may with truth be replied, that the charge itself is a libel,—a virtual defence of men-stealers. ‘It is in vain to seek for words to express their guilt: it must be the subject of mute astonishment and speechless horror. The Almighty does not supply man with language to denounce it in proper terms: it excites ideas of abhorrence beyond our capacity of expression.’ The making merchandize of God’s image—the murdering of souls—the abrogation of all the laws of God—the licensing of wholesale pollution, robbery, and sacrilege—the exaltation of one class of men above all that is called God, and the debasement of another class below all that is brutal—‘these are infinite crimes, to be judged, condemned and punished by an infinite Being.’

Among the earliest incidents that occurred subsequent to the last annual meeting of this Society, deserving special notice as illustrative of the fierce spirit of slavery, was the presentation of two petitions by John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives, Feb. 6, the first from several ‘ladies of Freder-

icksburg,' Virginia, praying for the abolition of the domestic slave trade. This was laid on the table, after some confusion—Mr. Patton of Va. declaring 'upon his honor,' that there was not on the paper the name of a single individual of respectable character. (They were all colored women, whose signatures had been forged.) The other petition purported to be from twenty-two persons,—**SLAVES**. Mr. Adams said he would withhold the petition, until the Chair had decided whether it came within the order of the House. He intimated that it was probably of a spurious character, sent to him for the purpose of making him ridiculous before the public—as in the sequel it proved to be. The uproar which ensued in the House beggars description. The slaveholding mockers were caught in their own craftiness. They had forged the petition to show their contempt of northern petitioners, and especially of Mr. Adams; but they did not believe he would be so *daring* as to offer it to the House. Their punishment, like that of Cain, was greater than they could bear. They shrieked out in agony, like the unclean spirits in the presence of Jesus, 'Why hast thou come to torment us before the time?' Mr. Lewis said it was in the power of the House to *punish* this atrocious attempt to present a petition from slaves. If it was not, they had better go home. Cries were now heard in various parts of the House, for the instant expulsion of Mr. Adams! Mr. Thompson drew up a resolution to that effect—but afterward proposed the adoption of another, not less ridiculous, that Mr. Adams be immediately brought to the bar of the House, to receive the severe censure of the Speaker. He styled it an incendiary attempt of the gentleman from Massachusetts to excite the slaves to murder and rapine, and declared it was punishable by the laws of the District! Mr. Haynes wished a resolution, declaring that the Hon. John Quincy Adams had rendered himself justly liable to the censure of the House, and that accordingly he is censured. Mr. Granger of N. Y. entirely condemned the course of the gentleman from Massachusetts. The right of petition belonged to freemen, not slaves! Mr. Wise of Va. said he would not censure Mr. Adams, unless at the same time he could censure those members of the House, who had put it in his power to

take this course, by receiving northern petitions. He likened the petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia to 'every description of reptiles and vermin.' The House had thrown itself into a fever—and for what? Why, merely because one of the abolition petitions presented happens to be a black one. He would as lief be bitten by a black mule as a white one. He feared the whites, and not the blacks. The slaves had more right and more reason to petition for abolition than the white people of the North, who had no interest in the subject. When the petitions came from the **WHITE SLAVES OF THE NORTH**, then it was that he felt excited and alarmed. Mr. Mann of N. Y. considered Mr. Adams as being in the *wane of his intellect*. Mr. Cambreleng said the petition was a hoax, got up by slaveholders in the District, (probably in the House,) and that he understood its prayer was for the expulsion of Mr. Adams and every other abolitionist from the House! Mr. Glascock contended that this was no excuse. It was undoubtedly the intention of the gentleman from Massachusetts to insult the southern members, and trifle with the House. Mr. Jenifer of Md. said, let the gentleman present his petition, which he claims the right of doing, and he (Mr. J.) would vote, not only for a resolution of censure, but for the expulsion of the member. Mr. Dromgoole of Va. moved that as Mr. Adams had given *color to the idea* that slaves have a right to petition, and avowed his willingness to be their organ, he be severely censured by the Speaker in presence of the House.—Mr. Pickens expressed his gratification at the unanimity (!) of feeling manifested on this subject by the members from the South. Mr. Bynum offered a resolution, that an attempt to present a memorial from a slave or a *free negro*, is a contempt of the House, and calculated to embroil the House in strife and confusion; and that any member guilty of the same, is justly amenable to the censure of the House. After a great variety of absurd and incoherent resolutions had been proposed, the following were adopted:

'Resolved, That this House cannot receive the said petition, without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States'! —Yea 160! nays 35!

\* Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people of the United States by the Constitution ' !—Yea 162 ! nays 18 !

Mr. Adams was defended with distinguished ability by Mr. Evans of Maine, and Messrs. Lincoln and Cushing of Massachusetts—and by these members only. During the whole of this unparalleled excitement, he behaved with exemplary equanimity and admirable self-possession. His speech, in vindication of his course, was the hewing of Agag in pieces by the hand of Samuel. He contended that there is not a word in the Constitution of the United States excluding petitions from slaves. The right of petition God gave to the whole human race, when he made them *men*,—the right of prayer, by asking a favor of another. It belongs to humanity : it does not depend on the condition of the petitioners : it is supplication, it is prayer : it is the cry of distress asking for relief. Referring to the spurious petition from Fredericksburg, he remarked—‘The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Patton) says he knows these women, [the petitioners,] and that they are infamous. *How* does the gentleman know it?’ Mr. Patton explained. He did not say that he knew the women personally. He knew from others, that the character of one of them was notoriously bad. ‘Mr. Adams rejoined. I am glad the gentleman now says he does not know the women ; for if he had not disclaimed that knowledge, I might have asked *who* it was that made these women infamous—whether it was those of their own color, or their masters? I have understood that there are those among the colored population of slaveholding States, who bear the image of their masters. [Great sensation.] \* \* \* Did the gentleman from South Carolina think he could frighten me from my purpose, by his threat of a Grand Jury? If that was his object, let me tell him *he mistook his man*. I am not to be frightened from the discharge of a duty by his indignation, nor by all the Grand Juries in the universe. \* \* \* It is said that I have trifled with the House. That I deny. No, sir, I had a higher purpose ; and having disclaimed such intention, no man has a right to charge me with it. Sir, I never acted under a more solemn sense of duty ; I never was more serious in any moment of my life. I have disclaimed nothing I have done or said. I have retracted

nothing. I have done my duty ; and I should do it again, under the same circumstances, if it were to be done to-morrow !

Such was the fearless, dignified and victorious spirit with which Mr. Adams repelled one of the most groundless and furious attacks ever encountered by the representative of a free people. No other man,—not an abolitionist,—could have been found in the free States, probably, capable of so much endurance, or of achieving such a victory. The infamous suggestion of Mr. Waddy Thompson, that Mr. Adams should be indicted by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia as a felon and an incendiary, plainly shows that the southern slaveholders, if they had the physical power, would incarcerate within the walls of a penitentiary, every northern representative who should dare to lisp a syllable in opposition to slavery upon the floor of Congress. If further proof were needed, it is contained in a letter of Messrs. Claiborne and Gholson, members from the State of Mississippi, to their constituents, dated Washington, Feb. 14, 1837. The writers, alluding to Mr. Adams and the slave petition, use the following venomous language:—‘ He is sunk beneath reproach, and his late wicked attempt has withered him with scorn to worse than a cypher. Mr. Adams is to-day as odious as a traitor. If his conduct was not treason in name, *it was treason in fact*; and it has met its reward!—if not in a traitor’s grave, *a traitor’s infamy!*’ If more evidence be needed of what the spirit of slavery would do, if it could safely, to our representatives who dare to speak their own thoughts, read the following murderous passage from the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury, the oracle of slaveholders:—‘ *Public opinion in the South would now, we are sure, justify an immediate RESORT TO FORCE by the Southern delegation—EVEN ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS—were they forthwith to SEIZE AND DRAG FROM THE HALL,* any man who dared to insult them, as that eccentric old showman, John Quincy Adams, has dared to do. If there be laws against incendiaries, in the District of Columbia, **HE SHOULD BE INDICTED.** If the privileges of the House are to screen an Abolitionist, who holds concert with the slaves of the Dis-



trict, *it is time that Virginia and Maryland should interfere,*  
**AND PUT DOWN SUCH A NUISANCE AS CONGRESS MUST BE UPON THEIR BORDERS.'** If still other and more authoritative evidence be required to prove that the slave-tyrants of the South are resolved upon administering lynch law to all the enemies of their accursed slave-system, who may chance to be within their power, let the following atrocious declaration of Mr. Preston of S. C., made in the U. S. Senate on the 4th instant, annihilate the last fragment of northern skepticism:—'This much he would say: let an abolitionist [Gerrit Smith or William Jay, for example] come within the borders of South Carolina,—if we can catch him, we will try him; and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments of the earth, *including this federal government,* **WE WILL HANG HIM.'** No doubt of it. Mr. Preston was neither joking, nor attempting to bluster. It is a fact in the awful history of the times, that every northern citizen, who refuses to bow down to the Moloch of slavery at the South, and who proclaims his abhorrence of the conduct of slaveholders, from that moment becomes **AN OUTLAW** in one half of the American Union. He can more safely trust himself in the paws of the bear, than in the hands of the bloody-minded men of the South. He may travel with impunity among savage tribes, and all other parts of the world are accessible to him; but if he is caught at the South, he will be suspended upon a gibbet for the crime of loving liberty for all men, irrespective of clime or color; and though he may suppose that he is shielded from all danger by the American Constitution, yet will he find that even the national government has no power to save him from an ignominious fate!—In vain shall he appeal to his unblemished character as a man, a citizen, and a christian; in vain claim the liberty of speech and of conscience, secured to him by the clearest constitutional provisions as an inalienable right; in vain protest that his heresy consists simply in a hearty subscription to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence; in vain appeal for justice to the Supreme Court of his country; for there is none able to deliver him. Die he

must; die ignobly; die upon the gallows. '*We will hang him*'! is the murderous assurance from the lips of a U. S. Senator, in his place in Congress. Shocking as it is, and calculated to chill the blood of every friend of humanity, it called forth no expression of surprise, or indignation, or horror, from any Senator. '*The Defender of the Constitution*' was dumb—and who else should presume to speak? If the time-honored adage be not, in this instance, strictly true, that '*silence gives consent*,' what is that silence but a virtual abandonment of the vindication of northern character, and the defence of northern lives? An expression, so sanguinary as that which fell from the lips of Mr. Preston, should have brought every northern senator to his feet, and elicited such a reply as would have caused the bloody-minded South Carolinian to hang his head as a detected, self-convicted ruffian. But no one stirred—the threat was made with impunity. The boldest held his breath!

On the 4th of March, 1837, Mr. Van Buren, the new President, made his inaugural address to the people of the United States. Better, far better for his reputation, if he had never emerged from village obscurity, than that he should have been elevated to the station he now fills, to put forth to the world such inhuman and anti-republican sentiments as are embodied in that address. If there be one constitutional provision more emphatic, more unequivocal than another, it is that which gives Congress exclusive jurisdiction, in all cases whatsoever, over the District of Columbia; and, consequently, it has both the power and the right to abolish slavery and the slave trade in that District—or, in other words, to '*establish justice*' between the inhabitants of the District, and to secure to them the blessings of liberty. This truth has been admitted and reiterated, from the time of the cession of the District up to the present hour, by southern as well as northern statesmen; nor can it be denied, without subverting the whole instrument. When Maryland and Virginia gave up all right and title to that free gift of territory, they necessarily relinquished the law-making power over it. Whatever laws, regulating their own internal concerns, they may have since modified, repealed or enacted, their

legislation has ceased to operate in the District of Columbia, as completely as in Massachusetts or Vermont. Whatever changes have taken place in the laws of the District, since its cession to the United States, they have been made solely by Congress. The slavery, therefore, which exists within its limits, has the sanction and is upheld by all the States in the Union, through their Senators and Representatives. It can be overthrown only by the power that sustains it. Hence, whenever a constitutional majority demand its abolition, it is lawful to obey that command. Indeed, it exists in express violation of the letter and spirit of the American Constitution; it is, therefore, a dangerous usurpation, which, aside from all considerations of humanity, ought to be crushed instantly. In what section or clause of the Constitution is authority given to Congress to foster or even tolerate slavery, by express statute, upon the soil that might be ceded to the United States? The doctrine of the South, properly understood, that Congress has no right to meddle with slavery, is sound. It follows that that body had no right to accept of that which it could not constitutionally touch: it exceeded its power in receiving slavery, but having committed the crime, it has power to repudiate it at any moment. By the Constitution, every slave in the District of Columbia is a free-man; because an instrument expressly designed 'to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty,' cannot empower the legislative body acting under its provisions to establish and sustain slavery, and secure the victims of slaveholders; and because all the laws of Congress, transforming one portion of the inhabitants of the District into chattels personal, are by that great instrument null and void. It is not necessary to pursue the argument. The right of Congress to abolish slavery in the 'ten miles square,' is indisputable: even Mr. Van Buren, though anxious to please the South in every thing, admits it. As to the expediency, the duty of such abolition, who that 'despises fraud, or loathes rapine, or abhors blood,' or fears perjury, can for one moment doubt? Who that loves his country, and would not have her (what she is now) a by-word and a hissing among the tyrants of the old world, will not be eager to see the stain

of pollution wiped from her brow, and her garments of blood made white like snow? Who that assumes to be a man, much more a patriot and christian, will dare to contend, that either the honor, prosperity or security of the nation, requires the continuance of a system of all possible villanies at the Seat of Government? A territory of equal size, reeking with so much pollution, and filled with so much oppression, probably cannot be found in any part of the world. It is the head quarters of the dealers in slaves and the souls of men: the noise of the whip, the shrieks of violated innocence, the groans of heart-broken men and women, the clanking of chains, and the voice of the slave-selling auctioneer, are heard in the midst of it continually. Its prisons are crowded with doomed victims; its slave-trading ships are actively engaged in the commerce of blood; and coffles of slaves are as regularly driven from its soil as from any portion of benighted Africa. These horrors have been enforced by Congress for almost half a century; and how much longer they are to be tolerated by those upon whom the awful responsibility rests,—the American people,—the God of the oppressed only knows. The President of the United States declares, with a brow of brass and a heart of stone, that they shall not cease so long as he occupies his present station. With a folly as surprising as his wickedness is transcendant, he bids defiance in advance to any expression of the will of the people on this subject, and pledges himself to be governed in his conduct by a slaveholding banditti. In his inaugural address, he proclaims that he has gone into the Presidential Chair, ‘the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes [not merely of Maryland and Virginia, but] of the slaveholding States!’—‘No bill,’ he adds, ‘conflicting with these views, can ever receive my constitutional sanction.’ No—not though a majority of the people call upon him to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free; though all that is merciful and just beseech him to relent; though the voice of God thunders in his ear, ‘Execute judgment, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hands of the spoiler.’ He cannot,

must not, will not break the rod of oppression. When the tigers of the South shall signify, that their appetite is glutted with blood, and that they desire the release of their prey, then, and not till then, will he consent to the deliverance! And he has the effrontery to add, that experience has proved his views 'to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honorable, and just!'—'Humane' to place mothers and daughters under the lash of the slave-driver, and surrender up their bodies to pollution! 'Patriotic' to deprive thousands of guiltless men and women of their inalienable rights! 'Expedient' to join hands with thieves and adulterers, and to license the trade in human flesh! 'Honorable' to withhold the hire of the laborers, fatten upon stolen wealth, annihilate the institution of marriage, sunder all the ties of consanguinity, and make havoc of all the relations of life!—'Just' to make man a thing, the priceless soul property; to fetter, scourge, maim, murder the innocent; to blot out the intellect of beings created in the image of God, and to consign them to remediless bondage! Such is the humanity, such the patriotism, such the religion of a man, who aspires to be the representative of democracy, of christianity! Democracy, in its purity, rejects with indignation his hollow pretensions. Christianity associates him with her enemies. He has voluntarily thrown aside his mask, and revealed the deformity of his features. Having in the pride of his heart demanded, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let the oppressed go free?' it is no marvel that he is resolved to regard the will of the people disdainfully. But let him beware. Like ancient Pharaoh, he has placed himself at the head of a slaveholding army, and chosen all the chariots of Egypt, and is pursuing those, who, trusting in the living God for deliverance, are led by a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night. Into the Red Sea have the persecuted gone forward, though at first ready to despair; and the waters have become a wall unto them on their right hand and on the left. Their implacable foes are just behind. Let them not tempt the Almighty, but retreat while they may. Already they drive heavily, for their chariot-wheels the Lord is taking off! If they persist in their merciless intentions,

the depths shall cover them—they shall sink as lead in **THE RED SEA OF PUBLIC OPINION!**

These animadversions are stimulated by no political antipathies, no party predilections. Fidelity to the sacred cause which we espouse calls them forth. Up to the present time, the anti-slavery enterprise has been prosecuted with the utmost impartiality toward all men; and this is proved by the fact, that men of all religious sects and all political parties are united in its support. It must continue to stand aloof from partyism, from sectarianism. Whoever or whatever assails it, must expect to be rebuked, and, if possible, removed out of its path. The spirit of abolition is of heaven, not of men: it is the spirit of Him who was anointed to preach good tidings unto the meek—who was sent to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound—to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God. Whatever, therefore, resists it, is Anti-Christ. As all are not Israel, who are of Israel; so neither are all abolitionists, who profess to be. Some have joined themselves to the anti-slavery ranks, who love their sect or their party more than they love the perishing slaves. Such will find themselves necessitated to withdraw, unless indeed the hope of exciting divisions shall induce them to remain. To love any man,—ay, even a father, a mother, or wife, or child,—more than this cause, is to be disloyal to it. We have the confession of Mr. Preston, of S. C. that the District of Columbia is **THE CITADEL OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.** The President of the United States is the chieftain who guards it, and resolves to defend it to the last. In opposing him as an individual, abolitionists make no war upon democratic principles. In associating himself with the enemies of our race, he must expect to meet with the same opposition that they are justly exciting. The democratic party are not called upon to abandon their principles, but only *the man who has betrayed those principles.* It is certain that they must make this sacrifice,—which truly is no sacrifice,—and select some worthier candidate, or they will find themselves in a minority at the next Presidential

election. The balance of political power is already in the hands of the abolitionists, and their number is multiplying with unexampled rapidity. Into which ever scale they shall throw themselves, by their regard for humanity above all party considerations, they will outweigh all opposition. None would deprecate the necessity of such a movement more than themselves. But, without a full retraction of the tyrannous pledge which Mr. Van Buren has given respecting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, they can neither consistently nor conscientiously vote for his re-election. They must oppose him as they oppose all who uphold the slave-system.

At the last session of the Legislature of this State, a large number of petitions was presented to the Senate and House, requesting those bodies 'to protest, without delay, in the name of the people of this Commonwealth,' against a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, adopted January 18th, 1837, laying upon the table 'all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.' This resolution was justly declared to be a virtual denial of the right of petition, a violation of the American Constitution, and dangerous to the union of the States. The memorials were referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Lee of Templeton, Richardson of Boston, Eaton of Haverhill, Thompson of Charlestown, Huntington of Northampton, Collins of Chester, Cooley of Hawley, Newton of Washington, Goodrich of Roxbury, Perkins of New Bedford, Barstow of Rochester, Crosby of Brewster, Coffin of Edgarton, and Upton of Nantucket—that is, one from each congressional district in the State. Before this committee, in behalf of the petitioners, appeared George S. Hillard and Henry B. Stanton. These gentlemen were listened to by the committee in the most respectful and courteous manner, at great length, with no symptoms of impatience, and to great acceptance—the conduct of the chairman (Mr. Lee of Templeton) furnishing a striking and honorable

contrast to that exhibited by Mr. Lunt, of Newburyport, on a similar occasion in 1836. Mr. Hillard spoke with ability in defence of the right of petition. The argument of Mr. Stanton was one of extraordinary power, covering the whole ground of controversy. Its effect upon the committee, and upon the crowd of anxious spectators that filled the Representatives' Hall, was electrical. It was first stereotyped in their understandings, consciences and hearts, and has since been stereotyped in another form, and printed for circulation through the length and breadth of the land. Thousands and tens of thousands have read it—but who has ventured to deny its premises or conclusions? No one. It is unanswered, simply because it is unanswerable. Hundreds of thousands, yea, a long line of posterity, even after the overthrow of slavery, shall yet peruse it with admiration and thanksgiving. In listening to it, as it fell like inspiration, in burning strains, from the lips of the speaker, men began to feel the divinity stir within them, and the meanest of their race rose in their estimation almost to the height of a seraph—only, indeed, ‘*a little* lower than the angels.’ Their sluggish blood grew warm; for the fires of truth and humanity were kindled within them, consuming their prejudices like flax, and melting their rocky hearts with fervid intensity. The occasion was one of great moral sublimity. Mr. Stanton, though laboring under physical indisposition, was happily enabled not only to meet but even to transcend the high expectations of the friends of liberty. His words became living coals; and his eloquence bore all things onward like an overflowing stream. More graphic, heart-stirring thoughts, sentiments, appeals, cannot be found in the same compass from the lips of any ancient or modern defender of the rights of man. Take the following as a specimen. Alluding to the fallacious hope, which certain statesmen of the South seem to cherish, that, by dissolving their connection with the North, they will be able to shut out the effects of anti-slavery agitations, he eloquently remarked—

‘Never! The effects of anti-slavery agitations are not hemmed in by State lines, nor circumscribed by local boundaries. They are moral in their nature; obey no laws but those of the human mind; owe allegiance to no constitution but that of



the immortal soul. Impalpable yet real, the truths we proclaim overleap all geographical divisions, and lay their strong grasp upon the conscience. Moral light, diffused at the north, is like the Aurora Borealis : it will travel onward to the South. The slaveholder may intrench himself behind bristling bayonets—but the truth, armed with the omnipotence of its Author, breaks through the serried legions. At Mason and Dixon's line, he may pile his prohibitory statutes to the clouds as his wall of defence—but truth, like light, is elastic and irrepressible—and, mounting upward, will overleap the summit, and penetrate his concealment. Yes, sir, if the Union were rent into ten thousand fragments—yet, if on every fragment there was a slaveholder, anti-slavery agitation would search him out, and scatter upon his naked heart the living coals of truth. God has written the verity of our principles on the inside of every oppressor in the land. He can destroy the record only with his nature. And, if the American slaveholder, returning wearied from the destruction of every anti-slavery pamphlet, and press, and society, and man in the nation, should seek repose in his chamber, these words, written with the finger of God, would flame out from its walls, in letters of blinding intensity :—‘ Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong ; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work ! ’

Of the unyielding purpose of the friends of emancipation, Mr. Stanton gave the committee the following impressive and truthful assurance :

‘ Undeterred by official proscription or private denunciation, by prosecutions at common law or persecutions without law, by legislative enactments or ecclesiastical anathemas, the friends of the slave, guided by the wisdom, cheered by the favor, and protected by the power of God, will prosecute their work. And that man, or that party, which shall attempt to arrest this cause in its onward march, will be borne down by the advancing host.’

It is doubtless to the powerful advocacy of the prayer of the memorialists, by Mr. Stanton, on this occasion, that the people are indebted, under God, for the noble response that was subsequently made by both branches of the Legislature. The committee reported to the House a preamble and resolutions, declaring unequivocally that the act of Congress, in refusing to refer or consider the petitions of the people on the subject of slavery, was ‘ a virtual denial of the right of petition itself’—‘ at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions’ ;—‘ that our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, had entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth’ ;—and

‘that Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possess the right to abolish slavery in said District, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good.’ These were adopted, in the House, after an animated discussion, by the triumphant vote of 378 to 16; and in the Senate, yeas 32, nays 1. The result astounded men of all parties, and carried dismay into the heart of the South. The Boston Centinel and Gazette (a paper unsurpassed for its malignity toward the anti-slavery cause, and its servility to southern dictation) styled it ‘A proud day for the Abolitionists!’ The Daily Advertiser (not less hostile in its character) argued that ‘the agitation of this subject in the Legislature was without a shadow of justification or pretext’! It ‘warned the Legislature against any such course’—‘they were not called upon, by any obligation whatever, to interfere in the matter,’ i. e. to defend the strangled right of petition!—‘the only effect of the resolutions would be to increase the irritation already produced’!—‘the passing of them could not fail to be mischievous’! It was ‘moreover persuaded, that the Legislature, in thus countenancing the views of the abolitionists, had pursued a course entirely at variance with the prevailing sentiment of the people of this State’!!—The Morning Post stigmatized them as ‘fire-brand resolutions,’ and hoped ‘that the democratic members at least, would be consistent, and unitedly oppose their passage—they owed it to their country, to themselves, and to their party’!! It was in this manner almost every daily paper in Boston attempted to intimidate and brow-beat the members of the Legislature—but in vain. They were neither to be frightened nor misled by the tools of the Boston aristocracy. The resolutions which they adopted, instead of increasing irritation, served to diffuse satisfaction and tranquillity throughout the Commonwealth. To the South, of course, and its northern allies, they gave serious offence. Alluding to them, the Richmond Enquirer exclaimed, ‘This is absolute infatuation—we had almost said, fanaticism. Thanks be to Mr. Van Buren, however, so long

as he remains President, no bill for the abolition of slavery in the District can become a law of the land !'

As Congress had risen before the adoption of these resolutions by the State Legislature, they failed to be laid before that body. Since, however, the passage of Mr. Patton's resolution of the 21st ultimo, by the House of Representatives at its present session, laying all petitions relating to slavery on the table, unREFERRED, UNREAD, UNDEBATED, Mr. Cushing (having previously laid them upon the table) has attempted to call them up for consideration ; but, by the decision of the House, though emanating from a sovereign State, they cannot be allowed even a hearing—and they accordingly lie upon the table, voiceless and contemned ! As the Legislature of the State is now in session, it only remains to be seen in what manner the representatives of freemen will treat this new outrage upon the character and dignity of this Commonwealth. As they have appointed committees to report upon slavery in the District of Columbia and the Right of Petition, (as well as upon the annexation of Texas,) it is to be presumed they will speak out in language not to be misunderstood—in a tone not to be disregarded.

'Startling and stern, the northern winds shall bear it  
Over Potomac's to St. Mary's wave ;  
And buried Freedom shall awake to hear it  
Within her grave.'

Has it indeed come to this ? Is Massachusetts to be treated as a bond-slave ? Are all her citizens in chains ?

• And what, but more than slaves, are they  
Who're told they ne'er shall be denied  
The right of prayer ; yet, when they pray,  
Their prayers, *unheard*, are thrown aside ?  
Such mockery they will tamely bear,  
Who're fit an iron chain to wear !

'Turn not, ye despots, on your heel :—  
It is not for an act of grace  
That, suppliants, at your feet, we kneel—  
We stand—we look you in the face,  
And say—and we have weighed the word—  
That our petitions **SHALL** be heard.'

In the House of Representatives of this State, March 27, 1837, the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred an order of January 20th, directing them to inquire into the expediency of 'restoring the writ de homine replegiando, or of providing some other process by which one under personal restraint may try his right to liberty before a jury,' made an elaborate report through their chairman, (James C. Alvord,) to which was appended an act, the first section of which provides that 'if any person is imprisoned, restrained of his liberty, or held in duress, unless it be in the custody of some public officer of the law, by force of a lawful warrant or other process, civil or criminal, issued by a court of competent jurisdiction, he shall be entitled, as of right, to the writ of personal replevin, and to be thereby delivered in the manner' specified in the remaining sections of the act. This report was adopted with entire unanimity. Thus it is settled, that every person who may be hereafter seized in this State, as a runaway slave, shall have the benefit of a trial by jury, instead of having his liberty put into the hands, and dependent merely on the certificate of any magistrate whom the unprincipled claimant might select, granted on a summary and ex-parte examination. 'This trial to him,' in the language of the Report, 'is of tremendous interest, involving consequences, in some respects, even greater than those which await the judgment on the most abhorred crime known in the land. For our constitution provides, that even this shall "not work corruption of the blood." But a judgment against one, condemning him as a fugitive slave, does work corruption of blood, and forfeiture to himself, his children, and his children's children, to the latest generation.' The act of Congress of the 12th of February, 1793, authorizing persons claimed as runaway slaves to be given up on oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, the committee deem to be unauthorized and void, inasmuch as it is a well settled principle that Congress cannot confer any part of the judicial power of the United States on State magistrates or

officers. They pertinently ask, 'Who, that knows the extreme jealousy of freedom, which was the characteristic of the times, can believe that the founders of our Constitution intended to hold the trial by jury "*sacred*" on every question of dollars and cents, however insignificant, and in relation to the slightest misdemeanors, and to deny it on the great question of **PERSONAL LIBERTY**? that they would yield it as a **RIGHT** to every man for the investigation of his title to an ox or a horse, and withhold it on a trial which involved the ownership of his own limbs and faculties—in one word, his ownership of **HIMSELF**?' Strange that this rational discovery was not made sooner; and passing strange that the colored citizens of this Commonwealth should, for almost fifty years, have been deprived of that protection for their liberty, which they and all others enjoy for the smallest items of personal property!—The astounding fact is only another humiliating proof of the indifference with which the rights of that deeply injured class of our fellow-citizens have been regarded, even in this enlightened Commonwealth. But, thanks be to God! they are henceforth to be fully protected in their personal liberty, the whole system of legal kidnapping having been demolished at a blow. The unanimous decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of this State, that 'an owner of a slave in another State where slavery is warranted by law, voluntarily bringing such slave into this State, has no authority to detain him against his will, or to carry him out of the State against his consent, for the purpose of being held in slavery,' was highly important, but far less so than this restoration of a trial by jury.

It is the strength and glory of the anti-slavery cause, that its principles are so simple and elementary, and yet so vital to freedom, morality and religion, as to commend themselves to the understandings and consciences of men of every sect and party, every creed and persuasion, every caste and color. They are self-evident truths,—fixed stars in the moral firmament,—blazing suns in the great universe of mind, dispensing light and heat over the whole surface of humanity, and around

which all social and moral affinities revolve in harmony. They are to be denied, only as the existence of a God, or the immortality of the soul, is denied. Unlike human theories, they can never lead astray ; unlike human devices, they can never be made subservient to ambition or selfishness. When Jesus gave this rule of action to a Jewish lawyer, who interrogated him, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' and illustrated its meaning by the case of the man fallen among thieves, aided by one with whom he was at mortal variance because of sectarian and national antipathies, the Great Teacher evidently intended to inculcate this among other truths, that all men are bound to rally upon the broad ground of a common humanity, to succor the distressed, without reference to the caste, the creed, the country, or the name of the sufferer ;—or, in other words, that when a victim of robbers lies weltering in his blood, he only is 'neighbor to him,' who pours wine and oil into his wounds, forgetful of all other considerations ; while he who passes by on the other side does but act the priest and the Levite. We repeat it, therefore, that it is the strength and glory of the anti-slavery cause, that men of all sects not only ought to unite, but are united, in one common phalanx, to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. Why should it not be so ? It is a reproach to the name of Christianity, that while its professors, however widely differing in their religious or political sentiments, eagerly associate together for the purpose of MONEY-GETTING,—to establish banks, build rail-roads, dig canals, and erect manufactories,—they are slow, almost reluctant, to give each other the right hand of fellowship in carrying on an enterprise of mercy. When they themselves are thirsty, they ask not who it is that proffers them a cup of cold water ; when they are oppressed, they care not who it is that breaks their fetters ; when they are threatened with death, they demand not, in a cavilling spirit, who it is that comes to their rescue. When the mother country attempted to bind the chains of civil despotism upon the limbs of our fathers, how ineffectual would have been their struggle for emancipation, if they had stood aloof from each

other on account of sectarian or political disagreements, and refused to co-operate together en masse for a common object, to effect a common deliverance ! Would the war have been finished in seven years ? Would it not have been ended, disastrously, in less than seven months ? If each religious sect, if each political party, had resolved to prosecute the war *per se*, in an invidious and antagonistical form, would England have lost the brightest gem that was ever set in her regal crown ? Never. And what were they styled, who, in those times that ‘tried men’s souls,’ for any pretext whatever refused to stand shoulder to shoulder in breasting the tide of British despotism ? Tories—traitors to their country—the enemies of liberty. Why were they bound to forget their creeds and their names, and to throw themselves, as one man, into ‘the imminent deadly breach,’ for the preservation of their liberty ? First, because it was a common good which was to be secured ; secondly, because it was common ground to be occupied by all who were not willing to wear the yoke of bondage ; thirdly, because disunion would have been inevitable defeat ; and lastly, and for the all-conclusive reason, that all sects and parties in England, the government, the people, were united together for the subjugation of the colonies, and nothing but a similar union of the people of the colonies could have procured their independence.

The moral conflict now waging against American slavery is, in many of its aspects, a parallel case. Its object, like the love of God, consults the happiness of all men : it is a common one, in which all sects and all parties have an equal, the deepest interest. The ground on which it is fought is a common one, broad enough to contain all who would occupy it. Disunion in the ranks is defeat—no true friend to the cause will seek to foment it. Those who refuse to enlist, because they are not agreed upon other and minor points with the gallant band who are struggling against the opposing hosts of despotism—what are they ? Are they the friends of emancipation ? No. What are they ? Neutrals ? Neutrality in such a struggle is the abhorrence of God, and active rebellion

against his government. The Moloch of slavery finds worshippers and defenders among all classes of society throughout the land; and it is to be remarked,—it is a fact too alarming and too important to be forgotten,—that, wherever they are—at the east or west, the north or south—whatever the party they espouse, or to whatever denomination they belong, their sympathies, feelings, interests, opinions, blend together like the drops of the ocean, to sink the victims of oppression beyond the fathom line of humanity. Their language is one; their shibboleth the same; their grand hailing sign of distress the same; their grip and knock the same. In their spirit, they are alike; in their purpose, identical; in their fellowship, undivided. Upon almost every other subject, they differ wide as the poles asunder; but upon the duty of paying homage to the bloody idol set up in our land, their agreement is perfect. Are the children of this world to be always wiser than the children of light? If Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Unitarians, &c. &c. are joined hand to hand, and heart to heart, in earnest defence of slavery; if they associate together, plot together, co-operate together, to uphold that execrable system; shall not, may not, cannot members of the same religious persuasions, who desire the utter extirpation of slavery, and will not bow down to the image of Baal, nor pass through the fire to Moloch, be *as* united, *as* forgetful of their other variances, *as* ready to act in company? If the friends and the opponents of the national administration are found in the same phalanx, fighting in defence of the worst oppressors; shall they not also be found leagued together for the rescue of the oppressed? When the standard of HUMANITY is unfurled to the breeze, in the sunshine of heaven, who that is created in the image of God, who that is human, will not rally under its folds? Let us suppose a case. In the progress of the revolutionary struggle, there were many dark periods, when the cause of liberty seemed to be at its last gasp; when its champions began to fear, that the night of despotism must inevitably settle over the land, with no hope that there would ever be another dawn of Freedom's day.



Let us suppose, that, in the darkest hour, when Washington and his barefooted followers, in the midst of winter, were retreating before their victorious enemy, and tracking their snowy path with blood, some of them had suddenly thrown down their arms, and declared that they could no longer be associated with men whose religious or political creed differed from their own, or who refused to subscribe to any creed. Suppose they had attempted to seduce others from the cause, by inflaming their suspicions and alienating their affections, by artful appeals and slanderous representations. Suppose they had tried to cut off the supplies which were sent to enable the tried and faithful few to carry on the war, until victory perched upon their standard, or the last drop of blood had oozed from their veins. And suppose that these factious individuals had boasted of their patriotism, and professed that they were actuated by love of country, and gave as one reason for their mutinous conduct, that, in withdrawing themselves from the army, they believed they should be able to do more execution, inasmuch as a large portion of the enemy coincided with them in religious profession, and would certainly be more willing to be shot down or taken captive by them, than by those who held to a different creed. What would have been thought, what said of conduct like this? Would not the whole world, civilized and savage, have cried out, 'Shame! shame!' But suppose, in addition to all this, that they had eulogized the conduct of those tories, who had refused to join the little patriotic army, as 'men who had a quick sense of propriety, and were not willing to be identified with their movements;' whose hearts bled for the oppressed colonists, but who were beaten off from active exertion in their behalf, in consequence of the character and measures of those who were carrying on the war. Suppose they had declared that their feelings had often been exceedingly pained by the abuse which was heaped upon tory ministers and other excellent tory Christians, who did not feel prepared to enter fully into the efforts of the revolutionists. Suppose, further, they had carried on a secret correspondence with the disaffected in various parts of the

land, as well as made their appeals to them in public, urging them to come forward in a body, take the cause into their own hands, and carry it on in a manner to suit themselves. Suppose, finally, that, in view of this mutiny, shouts should be heard in all the enemy's camps, rending the very heavens with their exultation. In what light would the conduct of those disorganizers have appeared to the friends of American liberty throughout the world? As dictated by a superior regard, a more holy concern for the success of the Right? Impossible. Nay, they would have been viewed, despite all their flaming professions of attachment to the cause, as recreant to it.

This supposition will serve to illustrate a similar defection which has taken place in the anti-slavery ranks, during the past year, in this Commonwealth and some other parts of New England,—a defection, which, happily, has extended to a very few persons, and, instead of dividing, has only served to bind more closely together the hearts of the friends of emancipation,—to make them more vigilant, more self-sacrificing, more uncompromising, in prosecuting their great enterprise, than ever. About six months ago, in the winter and midnight of our cause, when it was evident that if all the thoughts and energies of its advocates were not concentrated upon the single point of preventing the annexation of Texas to this country, by sounding a tocsin of alarm that should rouse almost the dead from their slumbers, there was little hope of the triumph of the cause or the salvation of the republic—at such a crisis it was, certain individuals, holding stations of influence as ministers of the gospel, and claiming to be not only known in public and in private as friends of the anti-slavery cause, but as abolitionists in the strictest sense, (one of them, moreover, one of the managers of this Society,) came out, without any previous private remonstrance, in a public document, preferring serious and grave charges against the manner in which the cause had been conducted. Their accusations assumed different forms, some tangible, others indefinite—some being preferred against the *Liberator* and its editor, others against

'leading abolitionists'—some new, and others such as had been preferred again and again by our opponents—some arraigning the orthodoxy of private individuals, and others affecting the whole aspect of our enterprise. They have finally settled down to a single point—that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is so heretical, and made up of such anti-christian materials, that it is the duty of all truly 'evangelical' men to come out from among them, be separate, and form an exclusive society, admitting none as members but those who subscribe to a particular confession of faith—at the same time, expressing their intention to make the new society auxiliary to the American, which is conducted in the same manner, and made up of the same discordant materials as the Massachusetts Society.

Of this movement, the Board said at the time—'So far as they (the Appeal, &c.) are personal in their character, the Board have nothing to say of them. So far, however, as they may be regarded as implicating the Board and the Society generally, the Board feel called on to say, that they regard them as unjust in their allegations, and as inconsiderate, if not ungenerous and unchristian, in the manner of preferring them ; \* \* and as peculiarly unseasonable and unkind at a time, when the union of all hearts and all hands is needed for the promotion of our common cause, and when nothing, if it can possibly be prevented, should be allowed to come up to withdraw the attention, or divide the energies of the oppressed.'

The 'course of the Board,' on this occasion, was 'fully and cordially approved' by the Society, at its Quarterly Meeting, in Worcester, on the 29th of September following, which was very fully attended by delegates from various parts of the Commonwealth.

It might well be supposed, that this attempt to divide the anti-slavery ranks upon sectarian grounds, and especially to suppress *this* Society, (the parent of the fifteen hundred associations now in existence,) which has every where been regarded, both in this country and in England, as the sheet-anchor of the abolition ship, could not fail to create a lively ex-

citement among the friends and foes of the cause, in all parts of the land. At regular and special meetings of many anti-slavery societies in Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, the conduct of the signers of the 'Clerical Appeal' was condemned as unkind, illiberal and unjustifiable; while not a single society was found to give them any countenance. The anti-slavery presses, throughout the land, were not less decided in deprecating any new organization upon party or sectarian grounds. Thus a verdict was pronounced against the authors of this plot, from which there could be no 'appeal,' except to the enemies of our sacred enterprise. But to make such an appeal would only be to confess, that they had betrayed the cause, and changed sides in the controversy. Never was a verdict pronounced with greater unanimity, or in more decisive terms. If, after such an expression of sentiment on the part of the devoted friends of immediate emancipation, the signers of the 'Clerical Appeal' had needed any stronger evidence that they were in the wrong, they should have been convinced of this fact by the shouts which were raised over their defection by the most implacable opponents of anti-slavery principles and measures.\*

\* The following Appeal is so excellent and so well-timed, that we insert it entire, although of considerable length. It manifests so good a spirit, so much in accordance with christian propriety, that we feel confident it will find a response from many hearts not now enlisted in the abolition enterprise.—*N. H. Observer.*

We have been exceedingly refreshed by the following document, which appeared in the last New England Spectator. Its noble, independent tone—its courtesy towards opponents, its regard for their rights, conceding all it demands—its recognition of correct principles of action and intercourse, in language plain and easy to be understood;—all this is so different from any thing which we have seen from 'that side of the house,' that we give the whole with the sincerest pleasure. We have marvelled, for a long time, how Anti-Slavery ministers, at least such as we know some of them to be, could keep silence, while a tyranny was creeping in, more to be dreaded than any other now in existence among us.—*Christian Mirror.*

*A Gratifying Document.*—Here is an approach to what we have so often argued to be the duty of Christian members of Anti-Slavery Societies. We admire the honest and christian spirit of this document. Mr. Fitch is pastor of the Free Church, which professes to be founded on 'Anti-Slavery principles,' and has frequently spok-

It is but just to add, that, with a few exceptions, the movement seems to have found as little favor among those of the same religious faith with the persons concerned, as among others. Indeed, in its present exclusive and sectarian aspect, it is believed there is but one feeling throughout the State, among abolitionists of every name and sect; and that all alike will not only regret, but repudiate, every attempt at organization on sectarian grounds, or on any other which shall be designed or fitted to divide their energies, and turn their efforts against each other, instead of the common enemy.

The success which has attended anti-slavery efforts, during the past year,—notwithstanding the treachery of professed friends, and the bitter opposition of avowed enemies,—has been truly wonderful. ‘Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?’ The all-animating voice of God is still saying,—‘Speak unto the friends of holy and impartial liberty, that they **GO FORWARD!**’ There is no discharge in this warfare, so long as one human being pines in bondage upon our soil. Let us arm ourselves with the same mind that was in Christ Jesus. Whilst we should watchfully see to it, that nothing of human passion, or personal hatred, or sectarian bitterness, or party policy, enters into our feelings in assailing the execrable system of American slavery, and in rebuking the transcendent wickedness of American slaveholders, we should be equally

en at Anti-Slavery meetings. Mr. Towne is pastor of the Salem-street Church, and was one of the ‘seventy agents,’ commissioned last year by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Sanford and the other signers have long been known as active members of the Anti-Slavery Society. We publish their appeal with great pleasure.—*Vermont Chronicle*.

*Taking Right Ground.*—Several Clerical abolitionists in Boston and vicinity, have been obliged to express their public disapprobation of some of the Garrisonism of that region. We give a few extracts from their public appeal as published in the *New England Spectator*. Let abolitionists generally come out, and put down the spirit and practice of denunciation and abuse, and show a better example by speaking the truth in love, and converts to their cause will be multiplied.—*Religious Intel.*

on our guard not to give heed to the suggestions of a false charity, or to dilute the pure word of liberty. Let our single purpose be,—regardless whom it may please or offend among men,—to speak the truth of God in its simplicity and power—not to conceal danger, or gild over crime, or screen the wrong-doer. It is not light that is needed on this subject, so much as a heart of flesh. While the chains of millions of our enslaved countrymen are clanking in our ears, and their cries are piercing the heavens, and we know that their bodies and spirits (which are God's) are daily sold under the hammer of the auctioneer as household goods or working cattle, we need no nice adjustment of abstractions, no metaphysical reasonings, to convince us that such scenes are dreadful, and such practices impious. All the nobility of our manhood, all that is nature within us, all the instincts and faculties of our souls, settle the question instantly. With the indignation that fired the bosom of a Brougham, each of us exclaims—‘Tell me not of rights! talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves! I deny the right, I acknowledge not the property! The principles, the feelings of our nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it.’ Let abolitionists remember this important truth, that it is because the skin of their poor, despised, fettered, bleeding clients is black, that they themselves are incendiaries and disturbers of the public peace—that their temper is bad, their spirit uncharitable, their language abusive, their principles unsound, their measures dangerous, their logic worthless. Oh, the odious inconsistency of the American people! When the iron heel of Turkish despotism was planted upon the necks of the Greeks; when the Autocrat of Russia was sending his barbarian hordes to conquer the unconquerable Poles; when the incensed populace of Paris contended for the space of three days with the National Guards, and drove Charles the Tenth from his throne; when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act, and the tax on tea, by the mother country, was received by our fathers, and insurrections for liberty broke out in all parts of the colonies; when at a subsequent period, the tidings came that

American citizens had been captured by the Algerines, and were pining in bondage ; when, at a still later period, the rights of American seamen ceased to be respected by Great Britain, and some six or seven thousand were said to have been impressed ; on each and on all of those memorable occasions, no denunciation against the oppressors was regarded as too strong, no impeachment of motives too sweeping, no agitation too great, no zeal too burning, no sacrifice too dear, no peril too imminent to be encountered. O, no ! Then weakness became strength ; prudence, noble daring ; moderation, impetuosity ; caution, a generous disdain of consequences ; charity, righteous indignation ! Then the cold blood of philosophy, congealed by icy frigidness, was changed into the warm fluid of patriotic life ; then the abstractions of metaphysics became practical realities, affecting life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; then halting expediency was transformed into high, immutable, eternal principle. Then the man, who, at such a crisis, had dared to mock the agony of men's minds, and to insult their understandings, by giving them grave and severe homilies upon the duty of being *very* cautious, and prudent, and charitable, and upon the propriety of exercising moderation and being dumb—such a man would have been deemed and treated as recreant to God and liberty. Then the land trembled as Freedom went forth to battle :—

‘ And there was rushing in hot haste—the steed,  
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,  
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,  
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war ;  
And the deep thunder, peal on peal afar ;  
And near, the beat of the alarming drum,  
Roused up the soldier ere the morning star ;  
While thronged the citizens with terror dumb,  
Or whispering with white lips—“ The foe ! they come ! they come ! ” ’

Then words, however huge,—expostulations, however earnest,—petitions, however importunate,—assertions of rights, however bold and uncompromising in language,—were deemed wholly inadequate to such a crisis. Paving-stones in the streets were taken up and hurled at the heads of the myrmidons of tyranny

—human blood was poured out like water—and the dead bodies of the friends and foes of liberty were piled up in hecatombs round about. Then the press spoke out in thunder-tones—the public halls and churches rang with the shouts of victory, or resounded with heart-stirring appeals to arms; and even ‘ministers of the gospel’ felt that in a strife for the rights of man, carnal weapons were not less efficacious than spiritual weapons, and hence it is recorded that some of them carried loaded muskets into the pulpit on the Sabbath day. Now, we do not say that all this conduct was justifiable—God forbid! We have not so learned duty. But, in the names of justice and mercy, we protest against being condemned for our zeal or language, our principles or measures, by the men who eulogize such deeds and such excitements as we have just recited. The only lesson they can teach us is, that our zeal is tame, our sensibility obtuse, our language weak, our self-sacrifice nothing, compared to the wrongs to be redressed, the evils to be overcome.

On the 7th of November, 1837, the abolition cause, which had passed through many an ordeal of violence, received a **BAPTISM OF BLOOD**. All who had hitherto countenanced it,—whether as beneficent in itself, or on the ground of free discussion, as worthy of a candid investigation,—had been called to suffer in reputation, in business, in expectancy, or in loss of friendship. Some had been seized and punished as felons by felons. Others had been obliged, for the preservation of their lives, to escape in all haste, and with extreme secrecy, from the slaveholding States. For the apprehension of others, large rewards had been offered in the South by various self-constituted lynch committees, and in one instance by a sovereign State. Others were thrust into prison by the civil authorities, not as criminals, but to preserve order (!) and save them from being torn in pieces by an infuriated mob. Presses and types had been destroyed—the public mail robbed by the consent of a city—dwelling-houses and churches sacked—furniture burnt in the streets—anti-slavery advocates pelted with rotten eggs and brickbats—anti-slavery assemblies again and again assailed and dispersed by the joint co-operation of ‘gentlemen of property



and standing,' and a profane and drunken rabble. Perils had thickened on every side—deliverances had been signal. As yet, however, the cause had not found a martyr—it had not been baptized with innocent blood—not a life, of the multitudes threatened and endangered, had been lost! But those whose vision was clearest; whose spirit had become prophetic; who, knowing what slavery had done, and was doing, not in a solitary assault upon a man or a class of men, but unceasingly upon inalienable human rights, eternal principles, and the infinite prerogatives of Jehovah, knew that its daily food was human flesh, its daily drink human blood, and its daily worship appalling blasphemy; such felt sure from the beginning, and prophesied accordingly, that, by no suavity of demeanor, or melody of utterance, or adaptation of means to accomplish the end, could the foul and tiger-spirited system be overthrown, and no excitement, no suffering, no sacrifice of life, be the consequence. The pioneers in this perilous yet glorious campaign anticipated mountainous difficulties to be scaled, Gibraltar-fortresses to be stormed, heroic achievements to be effected, blood-cemented testimonies to be given, as well as certain victory to be won. It was their solemn conviction, that the cause would require martyr-spirits to carry it through, and martyr-victims to perish in its defence; and they gave themselves up as doomed men, because they supposed that they would be naturally regarded by 'chivalrous' assassins as most deserving of immolation. Their chance, in truth, of surviving to the present time,—seeing that some one, at least, must fall a victim,—was a narrow one. It did not enter their minds, nor was it to be supposed, that the first one to perish by the murderous hand of violence would be among the last who should espouse the cause before its final triumph over brutal opposition. Yet so it has turned out! In the providence of God, the last has become first. Conversion and martyrdom followed each other quickly—the former, marked by rare peculiarities—the latter, accomplishing in an hour what years of individual exertion could not have effected for liberty.

We allude, of course, to that direful event which has startled the nation from its profoundest slumber of guilt, to wit, the assassination of the Rev. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, at Alton, Illinois, by a mob made up of the best and worst materials—the best, designating the victim—the worst, executing their wish, shooting him through the heart ; both parties thereby presuming that they had put an end to all excitement, and secured themselves against further molestation on the part of any of God's messengers. To demonstrate their innocence, they committed murder, and then held up their bloody hands as stainless witnesses of the fact ! Not relishing the noble thoughts on freedom, to which the mind of LOVEJOY gave birth, they began by destroying his press and types, once in St. Louis, and thrice in Alton—as if the annihilation of a cast-iron machine, and of little pieces of lead and antimony combined, were the extinction of intangible truth and never-dying justice ! Those types were motionless, without a soul to give them vitality ; and that press could do nothing, unless put into action by an immortal impulse. What fatuity, therefore, to wreak vengeance upon senseless objects, in order to punish free thoughts ! For if a thousand printing-presses were destroyed, what would follow but the multiplication of a thousand more ? It is an easy matter to tar and feather a human body, to ride it upon a rail, to suspend it upon a gibbet, to burn it at the stake ; but it is impossible to hit truth with a rotten egg, or confute error with a cudgel : the immaterial is always beyond the power of the material—the spiritual is triumphant over the corporeal. But men, resolved upon deeds of wickedness, cannot reason : they can clamor, they can threaten, they can mob, they can kill—but they know nothing of the philosophy of mind, and can do nothing but wrangle and fight. A troop of arguments in opposition to their sinful practices is treated by them like a troop of wolves, and forthwith they set up a shout to scare them away, or call for their rifles to shoot them !

After the pains which have been taken to spread the facts of the Alton massacre before the people, and familiar as these facts have now become to all who throng the city, or who

dwell upon the mountain or in the valley, from one extremity of the country to the other, it is not deemed necessary, at this late period, to go into the particulars of this tale of blood. As soon as the dreadful deed was known, a sensation pervaded the land, such as no other occurrence had ever excited. The current of public sympathy at once was turned into new channels, and began to fructify the soil of freedom. The tone of the public press also became immediately changed. Pulpits, which had never found a voice to denounce the enslavement of millions of colored men, were now wrought up to speak out boldly against this bloody atrocity. A few editors and clergymen, indeed, were found hardy enough to throw all the blame upon the intrepid LOVEJOY—rare monsters of the age, not to be forgotten in history, by posterity, or at the judgment-seat! Some of the newspapers in the slaveholding States uttered manly sentiments on the occasion. ‘The Anti-Abolitionist,’ said the Louisville (Ky.) Journal, ‘no less than the lover of his country, and the detester of insubordination and crime, has cause deeply to regret *this most atrocious tragedy*. Let those who oppose the abolitionists take warning from this event, and let them ever remember, that the only weapons with which these zealots can be successfully encountered are truth, reason, moderation, and tolerance.’ The Herald, of the same city, inquired—‘Are the *murderers*, for such we pronounce them, to go unpunished? We trust not. If there is law in the land, we hope they will be made answerable to it: if not, why then commend us to the despotism of the Grand Turk or the Czar, for they protect their people.’ And then it ventures upon the prophetic:—‘Spilling the blood of the unfortunate Lovejoy is worse than sowing Dragon’s teeth, in the olden fable! Every drop will, as it were, spring up into a new Abolition Society, that will, Hydra-like, lift its head in the land, and we fear no Hercules will be found who can vanquish it.’ Verily, this editorial forecast, not as to the character of anti-slavery associations, but as to the natural product of blood-letting by a band of assassins, approximates closely to the truth. ‘The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church,’ is a time-honored, time-demonstrated adage of out-

lawed, heretical, triumphant Christianity. And the poet, though looking upon the baffled efforts of the friends of liberty—baffled pro tempore, only to be successful anon—gives the confident and exulting assurance that

‘ There is a victory in dying well  
For freedom, and none ever died in vain.’

So it should be, so it is destined to be, until the Redeemer of men, and Conqueror of kingdoms, shall obtain dominion over the whole earth, and there shall be none to molest or make afraid ‘from the rising of the sun even to its going down.’

Upon receiving the melancholy tidings from Alton, a meeting of the Board of Managers of this Society was convened in Boston, at which a series of resolutions was unanimously adopted, among which were the following :

That the guilt of this bloody tragedy is not local, nor confined exclusively to the immediate actors therein, but that it covers the land, inasmuch as the tragedy itself is one of the natural and inevitable consequences of tolerating the execrable system of slavery in our midst; and that in the ‘deep damnation’ of the murder of this Christian martyr, the American church, the American press, American statesmen and divines, the great mass of the American people,—all who, for the last five years, have instigated riots or connived at the prostration of lawful government, or justified the enslavement of our colored countrymen,—do participate to a greater or less extent.

That to ascribe Lovejoy’s rare integrity, persevering determination, and intrepid devotion, in aiming to re-establish the ‘Alton Observer,’ to a rash, stubborn and suicidal spirit, or to a desire needlessly to excite a popular commotion, is equally absurd, malicious and barbarous; seeing that he was contending, confessedly and truly, in a constitutional and lawful manner, for all that is precious in freedom and vital in Christianity, and that he had no other interest in such a fearful conflict than that of a free moral agent; nor could he have consented to be fettered and gagged, under such circumstances, without sacrificing that which is of paramount importance to the mere preservation of life—namely, his allegiance to God and duty.

That in resorting to arms, in the last extremity, to put down the implacable, seditious and desperate enemies of public order, liberty and humanity, and to defend his property and life rather than succumb to their ‘reign of terror;’—being cruelly deserted, as he was, by the civil and military authorities of the place,—he was amply justified by the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, by the example of our revolutionary fathers, and by the applause which mankind have always bestowed upon those who have perished under similar circumstances; consequently, that for those who subscribe to that Declaration, and eulogize those patriotic sacrifices, to affect to be shocked at the brave and spirited defence made by Mr. Lovejoy, and on that account to consider his death as not deserving of peculiar sympathy or respect, is nothing better than base hypocrisy, cold-blooded insensibility, or atrocious malignity.

That while it is not the province of this Board to determine for the friends of universal emancipation, how far, or under what circumstances it is right to use arms in

self-defence; and while it is certain that no body of men have ever had a better right to do so than did Mr. Lovejoy and his associates, in view of the dreadful provocations and perils with which they were assailed; yet, as abolitionists, we are constrained to believe, that if the doctrine of non-resistance had been practically carried out by our brethren in Alton, as it has been by the friends of the colored race in Boston, New-York, and many other places, a similar deliverance and victory would, in the providence of God, have been the result; or, if not, that the spilling of the blood of defenceless men would have produced a more thrilling and abiding effect.

That upon the citizens of Alton, in a special sense, is resting an awful amount of guilt, with regard to the untimely sacrifice of an amiable, philanthropic and pious man; that, by their wicked conduct prior to the horrid catastrophe, particularly at the public meeting held by them on the 2d instant, they are answerable for the blood of murdered innocence.

That the diabolical attempt to fire the warehouse of Messrs. Godfrey, Gilman and Co. with the design of consuming those heroic men who were assembled in it, or of shooting them down as they should rush from the flames, is the climax of savage atrocity—affording new evidence that the MOLOCH OF SLAVERY demands the immolation of life, liberty and property upon its blood-stained altars, and the entire subjugation of the free States to its impious control.

That if it had been a partizan of the U. S. Bank, or of the administration, or of 'Whig reform,' who had thus fallen at his post a victim to his principles, his death would have created a strong excitement throughout the land, and been celebrated with unusual 'pomp and circumstance'—public meetings would have been called in every town and village, eulogies pronounced, pledges of eternal fidelity made, the pulpit and the press invoked, and every effort put forth to arrest the perpetrators of the murderous deed;—therefore, it is not too much to demand equal sympathy and regard for him who has lost his life, not to secure the triumph of this or that political party, or the establishment or overthrow of the Banking system, but in pleading the cause of one-sixth part of his own countrymen, now held in chains and slavery, and in supporting the 'self evident truths' of the Declaration of Independence.

That the gratitude and applause of all true Americans are due to Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College, and those other faithful friends who were neither ashamed nor afraid openly to stand up before the infuriated citizens of Alton, side by side with the object of special vengeance, and espouse an unpopular cause, at the peril of their lives.

That it is our earnest prayer, that the God of the oppressed may inspire some other Christian champion to throw himself into 'the imminent deadly breach' at Alton, at this momentous crisis, and resolve to establish a press, or perish in the attempt; and that if such a person shall appear, we pledge the free spirit of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to stand by him, even to the destruction of a thousand printing-presses by the enemies of free discussion.

That the tragedy at Alton should not be allowed to pass, without producing a solemn and permanent impression upon the mind of the nation; and therefore this Board would respectfully suggest to the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, the expediency of appointing a particular day not too far distant, on which meetings shall be held simultaneously throughout the free States by Abolitionists and the people generally, in every town and village, as far as practicable, to commemorate the tragical death of Elijah P. Lovejoy, and thus give a mighty impulse to the cause of liberty throughout the land and the world.

The recommendation in the last resolution was promptly responded to by the Executive Committee of the Parent Society at New York. The day which they appointed for these simultaneous meetings was singularly appropriate, being in itself full of thrilling associations, but how much more heart-stirring in connection with so strange an event! It was the *twenty-second of December*—the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers upon the rock at Plymouth. The day was extensively observed by abolitionists, and greatly to the furtherance of their holy cause. In Boston, a special meeting of the State Society was held in the Marlboro' Chapel, at that time in an unfinished condition, no other hall or meeting-house being obtainable for that occasion! Appropriate addresses were made by Messrs. A. A. Phelps, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Ellis Gray Loring, O. A. Brownson, and W. L. Garrison, of Boston, and J. O. Choules of New-Bedford. It was eloquently said of Lovejoy by Mr. Phillips: 'He took refuge under the banner of Liberty—amid its folds; and when he fell, its glorious stars and stripes, the emblems of free institutions, around which cluster so many heart-stirring memories, were blotted out in the martyr's blood.' Again, he mournfully remarked: 'It is said, the rioters at Alton were heard encouraging each other by reference to old Boston! Alas, my native city! art thou indeed so fallen? To be praised by praiseworthy men was once pronounced the highest honor. To what depth of degradation must she have fallen, whose time-honored name has become the motto and war-cry of a mob!' Mr. Quincy's speech was in all respects worthy of a descendant of one of the Pilgrims. 'The Parent Society,' he said, 'in appointing this holy anniversary for the unanimous celebration of the obsequies of our martyred brother, have done wisely and well. It is a sublime idea, that, throughout the vast extent of the free portion of this continent, the sons and daughters of New England are gathered together on this, the birth-day of their common mother, to pay due honors to the memory of a brother, who has willingly laid down his life in defence of those principles of liberty, to which she owed her birth.'

Prior to the observance of the 22d, it was deemed important by the friends of free discussion and the liberty of the press, that, if practicable, a spontaneous public meeting of the citizens of Boston should be held, without distinction of sect or party, and without any reference to the merits of the anti-slavery controversy, to express their alarm and horror in view of the prostration of civil liberty, and the murder of a christian minister for daring to maintain his inalienable and constitutional rights. Such an example, it was thought, would produce a salutary effect upon public sentiment abroad, and, if set in a right spirit, would serve, in some degree, to atone for the disgraceful proslavery riot that occurred in Boston, October 21st, 1835. Faneuil Hall, 'the old Cradle of Liberty,' was deemed the most suitable building in which to hold the meeting. Application was made for it, accordingly, to the proper authorities, by upwards of one hundred respectable citizens and legal voters, the Rev. Dr. CHANNING's name being placed at the head of the petition. This application was rejected, as follows :

**CITY OF BOSTON.** In Board of Aldermen, November 29, 1837 :

On the Petition of WILLIAM E. CHANNING and others, for the use of Faneuil Hall on the evening of Monday, the 4th of December.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Board, it is inexpedient to grant the prayer of said petition, for the following reasons :—

Resolutions and votes passed by a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, are often considered in other places as the expression of public opinion in this city; but it is believed by the Board, that the resolutions which would be likely to be sanctioned by the signers of this petition on this occasion, ought not to be regarded as the public voice of this city.

If such resolutions were to be discussed and rejected by the meeting, it could only be a scene of confusion, which would be disreputable to the city, and injurious to the glory of that consecrated Hall.

The Board think it generally inexpedient to grant the use of the Hall to any party who have taken a side upon a highly exciting and warmly contested question. The warmth of controversy engendered by public discussions, is little adapted to lead to the calm wisdom which ought to characterize the acts of public assemblies. When only one party is invited to attend, and it is perfectly understood that the doings of the meetings are to be regarded merely as the acts of the party, this objection does not apply; but for such a purpose, the use of Faneuil Hall is not necessary, and the Board deem the objection to be peculiarly strong in relation to the present petition.

A Remonstrance has also been received against granting the prayer of the petition signed by many persons, in whose judgment, public spirit, and good feelings, the members of this Board cannot but place much confidence.

By order of the Mayor and Aldermen.

S. F. McCLEARY, City Clerk.

It would be difficult to conceive of 'reasons' more insulting to the intelligence of freemen, more absurd in their premises and conclusions, or more false and flagrant in respect to matters of fact. The petitioners requested the use of Faneuil Hall for a specific object—to defend the liberty of the press, and to rebuke the spirit of anarchy which was stalking through the land. The city authorities were assured,—and had no reason to distrust the assurance,—that no other object was contemplated, and that the meeting intended to occupy ground on which all the citizens could amicably unite. It must be confessed, that it was stooping very low,—it was a most humiliating act of self-abasement,—to make a pledge to them, restricting liberty of speech on the most legitimate of all subjects of discussion, **THE ENSLAVEMENT OF MEN**. They had no right to require such a pledge; for if the character of slavery may not be examined freely in Faneuil Hall, and denounced in tones of thunder, that building, once the 'Cradle of Liberty,' has indeed become the Bastille of Oppression. But the design of the petitioners was equally honorable and politic, and they purposely avoided a topic that might excite angry collision, or a division of sentiment. Still, their request could not be granted! 'Resolutions and votes passed by a public meeting in Faneuil Hall are often considered, in other places, as the expression of public opinion in Boston'—therefore, the right of citizens to occupy that Hall is properly subordinate to the views which the Board of Aldermen choose to believe prevail upon any given subject 'in other places!' This 'most lame and impotent conclusion' shuts the doors of the Hall against all applicants, in whose object there is not known to be perfect unanimity of sentiment among the inhabitants of the city: especially is it manifest that 'a decent regard for the opinions' of *other places* requires the exclusion of all minorities, lest their resolutions and votes should be understood by those other places as 'the expression of public opinion in Boston'! The logic is as bad as the despotism, and the despotism as unlimited, in principle, as that which is exercised by the Autocrat of Russia. Further: the Board most insolently assume, that 'the resolutions which would be



likely to be sanctioned by the signers of the petition on this occasion,'—resolutions in favor of the freedom of the press, and to uphold the supremacy of the laws,—'ought not to be regarded as the public voice of this city'! Thus, in the same breath in which they affect to be most deeply concerned for the character of Boston, they slander and dishonor it. But the infamy of their conduct, in supposing that the meeting could only be a scene of confusion, assumes a midnight hue. 'A government which announces its expectation of a mob, does virtually summon a mob,' and yields to the enforcement of mob-law. Let us sum up the whole matter in a few words. More than a hundred legal voters, of unimpeachable character, request the use of Faneuil Hall for a lawful meeting, to express their abhorrence of a deed of blood, pregnant with direful consequences to the land. Their request is denied by the city authorities, on the ground that 'a scene of confusion' would be likely to follow, which would be 'injurious to the glory of that consecrated Hall.' To keep that 'glory' untarnished, therefore, the Board of Aldermen join with the mob in suppressing free discussion, and in trampling upon the rights of the friends of public order! Instead of giving protection to the obedient, they basely succumb to the lawless, and attempt to intimidate those who would breast the tide of anarchy.

'The Board think it generally inexpedient to grant the use of the Hall to any party who have taken a side upon a highly exciting and warmly contested question.' Most pertinent are the interrogations of the *Morning Post*, respecting this declaration—a paper by no means friendly to abolitionists:—'Is this true? Does not the whole course of these very officers contradict this reason? Did they not, recently, grant the use of the Hall to both the opposing political parties? Did not some of these officers, in fact, a year or two since, grant this very Hall to the use of the opposite party—to the friends of slavery and the opponents of free discussion? Did not these very officers grant the use of this Hall on the very 'exciting' question, whether the citizens should pay their postage or commit treason? Was there then any fear that people in 'other places'

might mistake public sentiment, or that 'the glory of that consecrated Hall' would be thereby injuriously affected?'

For what was Faneuil Hall erected, and bequeathed to Boston, if not for the discussion of 'highly exciting and warmly contested questions'? What 'party' has ever occupied it which had not 'taken a side' upon some one of these questions? And yet the Board have no objection to the use of the building by a 'party;' but when the occupancy of it is desired in the name of **THE PEOPLE**, for an object in support of which all are at least professedly agreed, then, forsooth, it must not be granted, for fear of excitement! The fact constitutes the renown of Faneuil Hall, that it was built for the grand object of **AGITATION**—to keep up a perpetual **EXCITEMENT**—the excitement of free speech against gags and padlocks—the excitement of liberty in conflict with slavery—the excitement of equal rights against aristocratic usurpations. Its name, its history, is **EXCITEMENT**. How it rocked during the 'warmly contested questions' of the Revolution, when such 'excited' disputants as **SAMUEL ADAMS**, and **JAMES OTIS**, and **JOHN HANCOCK**, and **JOSEPH WARREN**, told what they thought about yokes for the necks, and chains for the limbs of the sons of the Pilgrims!

We are gravely told by the Board, that 'the warmth of controversy engendered by public discussions,\* is little adapted to

\*The reasoning of the Board—as to the evils of free discussion—partakes deeply of the spirit, and in some degree of the logic, which was exemplified and used at a public meeting in Alton, a few days prior to the fatal riot in that city—at which the following, among other resolutions, were adopted:

Resolved, That while there appears to be *no disposition to prevent the liberty of free discussion*, (!!) through the medium of the press or otherwise, *as a general thing*, it is deemed a matter *indispensable to the peace and harmony of this community* that the labors and influence of the late Editor of the *Observer* be no longer identified with any newspaper establishment in this city.

Resolved, That the discussion of the doctrines of immediate abolitionism, as they have been discussed in the columns of the *Alton Observer*, would be destructive of the peace and harmony of the citizens of Alton, and that, therefore, we cannot recommend the re-establishment of that paper, or any other of a similar character, and conducted with a like spirit (!!)

Resolved, That whilst we decidedly disapprove of the doctrines, as put forth by the said Lovejoy, as *subversive of the great principles of our union, and of the prosperity of our young and growing city*, we at the same time as decidedly disapprove of all unlawful violence.

lead to the calm wisdom which ought to characterize the acts of public assemblies.' Of what use, then, is liberty of speech? Are public discussions to be prohibited? When a citizen has been murdered for daring to utter sentiments in accordance with the Declaration of American Independence, when the arm of civil law lies broken by violence, and when the foundations of society are shaken by the throes of anarchy, are these alarming occurrences to be spoken of in whispering tones, and in solitary places? Shall a dread of 'the warmth of controversy' make freemen dumb, and thus give license to the enemies of a free government to aim at its overthrow?

The 'Remonstrance,' to which the Board refer with so much deference, was written, signed and circulated by some of the most prominent actors in the Washington-street riot of 1835, 'in whose judgment, public spirit, and good feelings, the members of the Board cannot but place much confidence'!!

This extraordinary conduct of the city authorities, and especially the 'reasons' they gave for it, instantly blew up a flame of indignation that spread through the city, and was felt in all parts of the Commonwealth—all parties uniting in expressions of surprise and condemnation. With a promptness worthy of the crisis, and a fearlessness becoming a lover of freedom, the Rev. Dr. CHANNING addressed an eloquent and soul-thrilling Letter to the Citizens of Boston, appealing to them to reverse the arbitrary decision of the Board, and expressing his belief that they would be 'true to the principles of liberty.' After saying that 'the freedom of the press, the sacredness of this right,—the duty of maintaining it against all assaults,—this was the great idea to which the meeting was intended to give utterance,'—and referring to the resolutions which he had been requested to prepare for the adoption of the meeting,—he adds:

'To intimate that such resolutions would not express the public opinion of Boston, and would even create a mob, is to pronounce the severest libel on this city. It is to assert, that peaceful citizens cannot meet here in safety to strengthen and pledge themselves against violence, and in defence of the dearest and most sacred rights. And has it come to this? Has Boston fallen so low? May not its citizens be trusted to come together to express the great principles of liberty, for which their fathers died? Are our fellow citizens to be murdered in the act of defending their property and of asserting the right of free discussion; and is it unsafe in this metropolis, once

the refuge of liberty, to express abhorrence of the deed? If such be our degradation, we ought to know the awful truth; and those among us who retain a portion of the spirit of our ancestors, should set themselves to work to recover their degenerate posterity. But I do not believe in this degeneracy. The people of Boston may be trusted. There is a moral soundness in this community on the great points involved in the petition which has been rejected. There is among us a deep abhorrence of the spirit of violence which is spreading through our land; and from this city ought to go forth a voice to awaken the whole country to its danger, to the growing peril of the substitution of lawless force for the authority of the laws. This, in truth, was the great object of those who proposed the meeting, to bring out a loud, general expression of opinion and feeling, which would awe the spirit of mobs, and would especially secure the press from violence. Instead of this, what is Boston now doing? Into what scale is this city now thrown? Boston now says to Alton, go on; destroy the press; put down the liberty of speech; and still more, murder the citizen who asserts it; and no united voice shall here be lifted up against you, lest a like violence should break forth among ourselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

'A government, which announces its expectation of a mob, does virtually, though unintentionally, summon a mob, and would then cast all the blame of it on the 'rash men' who might become its victims.

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'But is there no part of our country, where a voice of power shall be lifted up in defence of rights incomparably more precious than the temporary interests which have often crowded Faneuil Hall to suffocation? Is the whole country to sleep? An event has occurred, which ought to thrill the hearts of this people as the heart of one man.' A martyr has fallen among us to the freedom of the press. A citizen has been murdered in defence of the right of free discussion. I do not ask whether he was Christian or unbeliever, whether he was abolitionist or colonizationist. He has been murdered in exercising, what I hold to be the dearest right of the citizen. Nor is this a solitary act of violence. It is the consummation of a long series of assaults on public order, on freedom, on the majesty of the laws.'

This Letter produced its legitimate effect. It obtained a wide circulation in the newspapers, and was read with enthusiasm. 'The meeting will be held,' was the language of the Lowell Journal—'it ought to be held—and, if a hall cannot be obtained for the purpose, let it be held in the open air. There freemen may breathe and speak without asking liberty of any one, but the God that made them!' A public meeting of the citizens of Boston was called at the Old Supreme Court Room, 'to take into consideration the reasons assigned by the Mayor and Aldermen for withholding the use of Faneuil Hall, and to act in the premises as might be deemed expedient.' Abolitionists were not concerned in getting up this meeting: it was the act of others. In pursuance of the call, a large concourse of citizens assembled. George Bond was chosen chairman, and Benjamin F. Hallett secretary. After the reading of Dr. Chan-

ning's Letter, Mr. Hallett offered a series of resolutions, drawn up with consummate ability, and strikingly adapted to the occasion, of which the following are a sample :

Whereas, in times when any constitutional right, affecting life, liberty and property, is denied or called in question by our rulers, it is peculiarly befitting a free people to assemble together to consult on the common good. And whereas, FANEUIL HALL, belonging to us all, and 'consecrated' to liberty and free discussion, has been denied to a portion of the citizens who petitioned for leave to meet there for the purpose of 'noticing in a suitable manner the recent murder in the city of Alton of a native of New England, a citizen of the free State of Illinois, *who fell in defence of the freedom of the press.*

Resolved, That the citizens here assembled, appealing to the searcher of hearts for the rectitude of their intentions and their devotion to free institutions, will discard all party considerations, all topics about which there can be a division among the friends of liberty, and confine themselves to the single question now at issue between the people and their rulers in this city, viz: the right to hold a public meeting to give utterance to their deep abhorrence of the spirit of mobs, and their solemn reprobation of the violence which has been offered to the freedom of speech and the press, by the murder of a citizen while engaged in maintaining that sacred right.

Resolved, That when a citizen of these United States has fallen by lawless violence in defence of the liberty of the press; the question should never be asked by Freemen what doctrine did he support, or to what party or sect did he belong; but was he standing under the broad shield of the Constitution of the Union and of the States, in all of which the liberty of the press is sacredly guarded.

Resolved, That it must be indeed a dark day in the history of our civil institutions, if freemen are to be restrained from discussing all subjects that their rulers may conjecture are of 'an exciting character;' under the pretence or apprehension that the exercise of a constitutional right may 'endanger the peace of the city,' or country—and that to concede this supervision over public opinion, whether of the minority or majority, to our rulers in City, State or Nation, would be to establish a despotism against which the citizens could never raise the voice of complaint or remonstrance.

Resolved, That 'the glory of that consecrated Hall' in which our fathers assembled to express their opinions on all occasions of 'an exciting character,' is departed, and become desecrated to the idols and worshippers of despotism, if the fatal precedent is to be established by our rulers that Faneuil Hall shall be closed against citizens, be they many or be they few, who desire to assemble there in order to pledge themselves to the exertion of their whole influence for the suppression of mobs, for the discouragement of violence, for the vindication of the supremacy of the laws, and especially for the assertion and defence of the freedom of the press.

These resolutions elicited a spirited discussion, and were unanimously adopted. A committee of two from each Ward was appointed to renew the application (precisely in the words of the former one!) for the use of Faneuil Hall, and to obtain signatures to the same. On its presentation to the Board of Aldermen, its request was granted quite obsequiously! A mar-

vellous change was suddenly wrought in the minds of the Board. The city election was at hand, and they did not dare to run the 'hazard-of the die' a second time. In their disinterested and sacred regard for office, they cared not a rush how 'other places' might regard the resolutions to be adopted at the meeting—they forgot their terror of 'the warmth of controversy engendered by public discussions'—they stood erect at the bidding of 'a party who had taken a side upon a highly exciting and warmly contested question'—and they ceased to rely upon the 'judgment, public spirit, and good feelings' of the signers of a certain Remonstrance! So much for principle—for consistency.

Accordingly, on Friday, Dec. 8th, the doors of Faneuil Hall were thrown open, and an immense concourse filled the Hall to overflowing. Jonathan Phillips was called to the chair, who made some excellent introductory remarks. Rev. Dr. Channing then came forward, and made a short, eloquent and impressive address. Benjamin F. Hallett then read the resolutions which Dr. Channing had drawn up. These were seconded by George W. Hillard in an able speech. Up to this moment, the assembly had listened with attention and decorum. But as soon as James T. Austin, the Attorney General, arose, it was the signal for confusion and uproar on the part of the enemies of constitutional order. His speech was in the highest degree inflammatory, ferocious and mobocratic; but elicited much applause. He declared that 'Lovejoy died as a fool dieth'—justified the riotous conduct of the Altonians, and compared them to the patriotic Tea Party of the Revolution. He alluded to the slaves of the South in the following manner:

'We have a menagerie here, with lions, tigers, hyenas, an elephant, a jackass or two, and monkeys in plenty. Suppose now, some new cosmopolite, some man of philanthropic feelings, not only towards man but animals, who believe that all are entitled to freedom as an inalienable right, should engage in the humane task of giving freedom to these wild beasts of the forest, some of whom are nobler than their keepers; or having discovered some new mode to reach their understanding, should try to induce them *to break their cages and be free?* The people of Missouri had as much reason to be afraid of their slaves, as we should have of the wild beasts of the menagerie. They had the same dread of Lovejoy that we should have of this supposed instigator, if we really believed the bars would be broken, and the caravan let loose to prowl about our streets.'

## 'Take another portion of his sanguinary speech :

'Why, then, asked Mr. A. are we called here to sympathize with the victim, or to say any thing about the mob at Alton, or why should the events there be the cause of special resolutions by the citizens of Boston? Have we no events of the like kind nearer home, to condemn? Yes, Sir, wherever the Abolition fever rages, there are mobs and murder.

'Without attending to other cases in our own vicinity, which better deserve our attention, what will be said to us by the citizens of Illinois and Missouri, whom it is our self-assumed prerogative to rebuke?

'Will they not tell you that you yourselves have been instigated by the same passions, and have yielded to the like infirmity of human nature?—'Have you written your annals true?'—they will say—'and do you not know that occasions have arisen in which your ancestors found it inevitable that they should take the law into their own hands,—extreme cases, in which indeed there was no law reaching to their condition but the original and immutable law of self-preservation, and necessary self-defence?'

'Will they not tell you that when your fathers were colonists, and as such under obligations to pay a tax levied upon them by the British Government, fatal to their liberties, their rights, their happiness—they implored, they besought its remission, and urged that their people should not be goaded to violence, and instigated to a madness which human reason could not control. And when these prayers, and entreaties, and supplications were vain, and there was no law that could protect them, and no middle path between ruin and resistance, did not they take their protection under the security of their own arm, and marching down from this Hall—an *orderly mob*—pour the disgusting instrument of their degradation into the sea? So will the people of Missouri claim to do, when their lives are threatened by the operations of these abolition conspirators. Do you suppose they will wait for the slow progress of the laws? They will tell you they will call on the God of Heaven, as your fathers did, and with his favor will defend themselves.'

This lawless man was followed by Wendell Phillips, the youthful, accomplished and eloquent friend of emancipation. The partisans of Austin attempted to clamor him down—but in vain. The words which he uttered fell like a shower of fire upon them. He said—

'I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker;—surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have elicited in these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard it asserted in this Hall, that Great Britain had a right to tax the Colonies, and we have heard the mob at Alton, got up to murder Lovejoy, compared to that band of our patriot fathers, who threw the tea overboard! (Great applause.) Fellow citizens, is this true? (No, no.) The mob at Alton were met to wrest from a citizen his just rights; to resist the laws. We have been told that our fathers did the same; and the glorious mantle of Revolutionary precedent has been thrown over the mobs of our days. For to make out their title to such defence, it has been asserted that the British Parliament had a *right* to tax these Colonies. It is manifest that without such an assertion, the gen-

tleman's parallel would have fallen to the ground;—for Lovejoy had stationed himself within constitutional bulwarks. The men who assailed him went against and over the laws. The *mob*, as the gentleman terms it, which assembled in the Old South, to destroy the tea, were met to resist not the laws, but illegal exactions; not the King's prerogative, but the King's usurpation. To find any other account, you must read our Revolutionary history upside down. Our State archives are loaded with arguments of John Adams, to prove the taxes laid by the British Parliament unconstitutional—beyond their power. It was not till this was made out, that the people of New England rushed to arms. The arguments of the Council Chamber and the House of Representatives preceded and sanctioned the contest. To draw the conduct of our ancestors into a precedent for mobs; for a right to resist laws we ourselves have enacted, is an insult to their memory. The difference between the excitements of those days and our own, which the gentleman, in kindness to the latter, has overlooked, is simply this. The men of that day went for the right. They were the people rising to sustain the laws and constitution of the Province. The rioters of our day go for their own wills, right or wrong. Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the rioters, incendiaries and murderers of Mt. Benedict and Alton, side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the Hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American—the slanderer of the dead. (Great applause and counter applause.) The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance, if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of Patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up! (Here the agitation continued for some time, before the speaker could be heard.)

It was obviously the design of the Attorney General, either to effect a sudden dissolution of the meeting by an indefinite postponement of the resolutions under consideration, or else to break it up in a violent manner. Finding, however, that too large a portion of the assembly were the friends of order, he withdrew at the close of his remarks—anticipating, probably, a rebuke such as was given to him by Mr. Phillips. Mr. P. was followed by George Bond, Esq. who said that he came to the meeting, determined to be silent, but the extraordinary speech of the Attorney General had changed his determination. 'I leave to him,' he said, 'the enjoyment of all the happiness, all the consolation he can derive, on further reflection, from the parallel he drew between the supposed case of the wild beasts of a menagerie and the blacks. I also leave to him the full benefit of his comparison between the murderous mob at Alton, and that first act of our glorious Revolution, the destruction of the tea.' At the conclusion of his remarks, the resolutions were put and adopted by an overwhelming majority. The ef-



fect of the meeting upon public sentiment, at home and abroad, was highly salutary. It remains to be seen, whether the Attorney General will escape impeachment for his seditious harangue.

A sermon, delivered by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, of Boston, on Thanksgiving Day, contains sentiments as disorganizing and atrocious as those uttered by Mr. Austin. The principles and measures of the abolitionists, he declares, 'only tend to place the abolition of slavery at a more hopeless distance, or to fill the land with violence and blood;' and he 'considers the mournful *disaster* at Alton as the legitimate result of the operation of those unchristian principles and measures'!!—'In all republican governments,' he maintains, 'a mob is the *natural consequence*' of freedom of speech; and to exercise that freedom, boldly and independently, in opposition to public sentiment, is 'to prostrate all laws, render every thing unsafe, and introduce the most tyrannical slavery'!—So that, in order to be protected, enjoy liberty, and sustain government, we must 'follow the multitude,' even if they run 'to do evil,' and swim with the popular current—because 'it is in vain to call upon civil magistrates to protect us, if we press too severely upon public sentiment'!!—In the opinion of Mr. Winslow, Lovejoy and his associates were as guilty as their murderous assailants; and he warns his people, 'Go not with disorganizers—with rioters, on the one hand, nor with those who rashly excite them, on the other:' 'they are the two great enemies to our **FREE** institutions'!!—'Republican liberty,' he says, 'is not the liberty to say and do just what one pleases—but liberty to say and do what the *prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect*'!!—Such sentiments are treason against the moral government of God, a libel upon republican institutions, and at war with the common sense of mankind; and the minister who could not only utter them from his pulpit, but publish them in a pamphlet, deserves neither the respect nor confidence of the people, but is manifestly 'a wolf in sheep's clothing,' or at least a servile hireling, whose god is 'public opinion.'

In the last Annual Report, the Managers felt called upon to express the most gloomy apprehensions as to the probability of the annexation of Texas to the Union. The manner in which that vast territory had been invaded and revolutionized by American adventurers—the enthusiasm with which that event had been hailed in this country—the connivance of our government at the outrage, and its utter faithlessness toward Mexico—the stealthy and extraordinary recognition of the independence of Texas at the close of the last session of Congress—and, above all, the avowed determination of the South to form the alliance at all hazards—these things served to fill the minds of reflecting men with despondency, almost with despair. But the abolitionists, true to their principles and professions, resolved to bend all their energies to the grand object of defeating the machinations of Texas and the South. They sounded a tocsin of alarm that roused the land to a sense of its danger; they sent their appeals, warnings and remonstrances into every part of the republic; they held public meetings, by day and by night, with reference solely to this momentous question; they covered the entire surface of the nation with tracts, circulars and papers, revealing the designs of the southern planters; in short, they put into motion all that has been done for the perpetual exclusion of Texas from the American confederacy. At the extra session of Congress in September last, through their instrumentality, in the course of a few weeks, many thousand petitions, signed by hundreds of thousands of men and women, were received by that body, remonstrating against the annexation in strong and emphatic language. Never before had the people made such a demonstration of their will, in the form of petition. Happily, that session ended without affecting the so much dreaded alliance. What the present session of Congress shall determine, is problematical; but there is reason to believe, that, so unanimous are the feelings of the people of the free States, in opposition to the measure, and so powerfully have these feelings been expressed, that their Senators and Representatives will oppose it in an almost unbroken phalanx. Multitudes of petitions, protesting against the incorporation, are flowing into

Congress, daily and hourly. The General Assembly of Rhode Island, at their October Session, passed some very strong resolutions on the subject, in which the conviction was expressed, 'that the free people of these States will look upon any attempt to introduce the foreign territory of Texas, or any other foreign territory or nation, into this Union, as a constituent member or members thereof, as manifesting a willingness to prostrate the Constitution and dissolve the Union.' The Legislature of Vermont have also solemnly protested, in the name of the people of that State, 'against any such annexation in any form.' Other legislatures have the subject under consideration, and, it is to be presumed, will utter the same sentiments. From the Legislature of this Commonwealth, now in session, (to whom a great number of petitions have been sent,) we have a right to expect an expression of views, worthy of the free spirit of Massachusetts. \*

To the Rev. Dr. Channing belongs the credit of having done much towards giving a healthy tone to public sentiment, and thus preventing the admission of Texas into the Union, by a Letter which he addressed to Henry Clay, and which has received the acclamations of millions.

Though we may now cherish the hope that the danger is over, yet the people must keep a vigilant eye upon their representatives in Congress, and be ready to meet any emergency growing out of this matter. Probably an attempt will be made, at the close of the present session, in the absence of northern members, and when there can be no time for discussion, to effect the annexation. Should such a game be played, the South may rely upon it that the North will never submit. That the

\* Since the annual meeting, the Committee of the Legislature, to whom the petitions in relation to Texas were referred, have made a luminous Report, accompanied by a preamble and resolutions, which have been unanimously adopted by both Houses. The following is one of the resolutions:

'Resolved, That we, the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, do, in the name of the people of Massachusetts, earnestly and solemnly protest against the incorporation of Texas into this Union, and declare that no act done, or compact made, for this purpose, by the government of the United States, **WILL BE BINDING ON THE STATES, OR THE PEOPLE.**'

South is determined to carry its point, if possible, is evident from the recent declaration of Mr. Preston, in the U. S. Senate, that early in February he shall bring in a measure for the annexation of Texas into the Union. In the report of a select committee of the Legislature of Mississippi, this annexation is spoken of as 'of most imperious necessity to the future safety and happiness of the southern States of this confederacy.' Alluding to slavery, the committee aver that 'this system is cherished by our constituents as *the very palladium of their prosperity and happiness*'—that 'the South does not possess within her limits A BLESSING with which the affections of her people are so closely entwined, and so completely enfibred, and whose value is more highly appreciated, than slavery'—that 'to this system, we owe more than we can well estimate of *domestic comfort and social happiness*'—that 'to it are we chiefly indebted for the *lofty spirit of liberty*, which so eminently distinguishes the proud and high-minded inhabitants of this happy region'—and that 'we declare it to be our own *inherent, CHERISHED, and VENERATED DOMESTIC SYSTEM*, which every southern man, worthy the name, is resolved before high Heaven to protect and sustain, if need be, even at the hazard of his life.' Though 'scorning to dwell in argument,' the committee (excellent pupils of Prof. Stuart, President Fisk, and Dr. Bangs) condescend to state, for the information of the ignorant, that 'slavery is a system expressly recommended in the Old Testament, and not inhibited in the New, and should, therefore, set at rest the most fastidious scruples.' There is, consequently, no more to be said on the subject. These barbarous and blasphemous sentiments were unanimously responded to by the Legislature of Mississippi, and no one in all the South has ventured publicly to express his dissent from them.

At the opening of the present session of Congress, a flood of petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, &c. &c. went pouring into both houses, in an unprecedented manner. Mr. Slade, of Vermont, in presenting a memorial from certain inhabitants of that State, moved its reference to a select committee, *with instructions to report*

*a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District.* He then proceeded, in a candid and able manner, to discuss the abstract question of slavery, and to prove that it is a violation of the laws of God, and the principles of the Constitution. The house was thrown into a tremendous excitement. Mr. Slade was vociferously called to order by various southern members—but, resolutely persisting in his noble purpose, Mr. Wise, of Virginia, rose and *called upon the southern delegation to leave the hall!* ‘Agreed!’ ‘Agreed!’ ‘Agreed!’ was responded by a dozen voices, and in company with twenty or twenty-five members from the southern states, Mr. Wise left the hall. Mr. Rhett, of S. C. gave notice, that the southern delegation would meet in the District of Columbia committee room at 7 o’clock. In the midst of the confusion, Mr. Slade calmly begged permission to proceed! Being again called to order, the Speaker told him to take his seat; and the house, on motion, then adjourned.

The factious meeting of the southern members was held in the evening, and continued till near midnight. It is said that all the senators from the slaveholding States, except Clay and Benton, and most of the representatives, were present. Harangues were made by Messrs. Calhoun, Preston, Rives, and Crittenden, of the Senate, and Messrs. Wise, Menifee, Calhoun of Ky. and others, of the House. The mighty result of the deliberations of this band of conspirators was the appointment of Mr. Patton, of Va. to offer a resolution in the House the next morning, which he did accordingly, in the following words:

‘*Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves in any state, district, or territory of the United States, be laid upon the table, without being *debated*, printed, *read*, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.’

Mr. Patton moved the previous question, after prefacing his resolution with some remarks. In vain did Mr. Adams attempt to obtain a hearing, a Bedlam outcry being raised against him. When the main question was put, Will the House agree to the resolution, Mr. Adams rose and said, amid shouts of ‘order!’ ‘order!’ as he proceeded, ‘I consider the resolution a violation

of the Constitution of the United States—of the rights of my constituents, and the people of the United States, to petition—and to my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.’ He therefore declined answering ‘Ay’ or ‘No.’ The vote stood, yeas 122, nays 74. Thus the sacred right of petition has again been immolated upon the altar of slavery. The above resolution is not only destructive of that right, but it deprives the people of representation, inasmuch as their representatives are gagged upon the floor of Congress. Yet it was passed by northern votes! O servile degradation!

In the Senate, the petitions have received a similar treatment, all of them having been laid upon the table without reading or reference. In the vain hope of arresting anti-slavery proceedings, Mr. Calhoun has succeeded in getting the Senate to adopt (by a vote of 3 to 1) a string of resolutions, as absurd and fallacious in their reasoning, as they will assuredly prove abortive in their design. [See Appendix.] Passed, too, by northern votes!

To Messrs. ADAMS and SLADE of the House, and MORRIS of the Senate, the thanks and applause of the lovers of liberty are due, for their unfaltering course and noble defence of our cause. Their names will be cherished by posterity.

Among the most important events of the last year may be reckoned the Convention of American Women in the city of New-York, in May last, to deliberate upon measures and to establish a system of operations to hasten the downfall of slavery. The conception of such a Convention was sublime: its influence has been glorious. Its proceedings have been published to the world, and exhibit high intelligence and great moral power. It is not flattery, but simple truth to affirm, that the abolition cause is mainly indebted, under God, to the maids and matrons of America for its means, its vitality, and its wonderful success. Without their co-operation, it would languish and expire. No praise can exceed their fidelity, courage, activity, self-denial and devotedness. The palm and the crown are theirs.

In this State, during the past year, the cause has been greatly advanced by the labors of Messrs. Phelps, Stanton, Birney, Codding, May, Scott, St. Clair, Phillips, &c.; but in a special manner by our gifted South Carolina sisters, S. M. & A. E. Grimke.

Dr.

**{ Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account Current }  
with Henry G. Chapman, Treasurer.**

Cr.

		1837.		
1838. Jan. 22.	To payments from Jan. 25, 1837, to Jan. 22, 1838	\$		Jan. 24
	To paid Agents' Salaries and travelling expenses	2410	91	By balance old account
	" for Printing and for Publications	3448	50	By receipts for Publications
	" for use of Halls	97	60	By donations from 25th January, 1837, to 22d January, 1838
	" for Reporting	133	00	By donations for the family of Lovejoy
	" Advertising	29	25	
	" Thomas Gould the amt. paid into this Treasury, it being intended for the Am. A. S. Soc. at N. York.	20	00	
	" discount on uncurrent bills	3	00	
	" 23d Nov. for draft on Branch Bank, Ill. for \$100, and remitted to Mrs. Lovejoy	99	00	
	" Administrator estate of H. E. Benson, balance due	17	82	
	" on acc't. loans	200	00	
	To balance to credit new account	172	81	
		\$ 6637	89	\$ 89 60 986 24 5275 11 287 44 \$ 6637 89

*Boston, January 22, 1838.*

E. E.

HENRY G. CHAPMAN, *Treasurer.*

Boston, Jan. 22, 1838.—I have examined the above account, and find the same properly cast and duly vouched, and that there remains a balance in the hands of the Treasurer, of one hundred and seventy-eight dollars 81.<sup>100</sup> due to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, *Auditor.*

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING,  
HELD IN BOSTON, JANUARY 24, 1838.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, JAN. 24, 1838.

Pursuant to the call thereof, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held its Sixth Annual Meeting in the Chapel connected with the Marlborough Hotel, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. President of the Society, took the chair, and called the meeting to order. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. Horton, of Boston.

Wm. M. Chace, of Providence, R. I. was chosen Secretary.

On motion, a committee to bring forward business was appointed by the chair, consisting of the following gentlemen :

A. A. Phelps, O. Scott, S. J. May, W. L. Garrison, J. Horton, Dexter Fairbanks, J. T. Ward, Wm. Bassett, O. Johnson, C. P. Grosvenor, J. C. White.

On motion, it was voted to appoint a committee of one from each county, to nominate officers of the Society, for the ensuing year. The following gentlemen were appointed :

Amos A. Phelps, Suffolk ; James Buffum, Essex ; Geo. Russell, Plymouth ; J. M. Earle, Worcester ; L. Boutell, Middlesex ; Charles Anthony, Bristol ; Isaac Austin, Nantucket ; Elias Richards, Norfolk.



The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was now called for. Mr. Garrison rose and said, he should be able to read only a part of the Report to-day. There were several important topics on which he had as yet been able to write nothing, owing to severe physical indisposition.

After the reading of the Report—

Mr. May moved, that the report, so far as submitted, be published under the supervision of the executive committee, as extensively as the funds of the society will permit. I ask that it may be published under the supervision of the executive committee, because it should go out as the act of the society; and because, for myself, there are one or two expressions to which I object. But, I by no means wish to detract from the spirit of the report. I thank our brother for setting us an example, how we shall go forth in this cause the ensuing year.

Mr. President, it may seem to mere lookers on, in this matter, that this report has little to do with slavery. It is about the rights of the free. Little has been said, I know, about the slave. But why is this? Because we are not, ourselves, as we supposed, *free*. How can we stretch out our hands for the relief of the slave, if that hand is chained? How shall we plead his cause, if our lips are padlocked? Events have shown that it is even so with us. It is then but a preliminary measure, in the cause of the enslaved, that we secure our own rights. The course of events has shown it to be a great principle of God's moral government, in the agitation of this subject, *that no man can live to himself with impunity*—no man can be *free to himself*, with impunity—no man can be a *slave to himself*,—for in submitting to slavery, or in consenting to have it enforced upon any, he implicates the rights of others or of himself. We did not know it. But it is a principle in God's moral government. Thanks to his name, that he has so bound together parts of the human family. We have so long acquiesced in the enslavement of our brethren, that the yoke is even now almost fastened upon our own shoulders. But it cannot be fastened here!—Only let the people know their situation, and it will be like the green withs that bound Sampson. Our brother Garrison has done us a favor in thus exhibiting to us our situation. And I rejoice to find that this knowledge is spreading. I this morning took up a paper in Boston, by no means noted for its friendliness to this cause, [the *Atlas*,] in which I find the acknowledgement that things are just as Mr. Garrison has stated in his report.

We have been endeavoring for years to make our fellow citizens understand this; (one of the earliest and ablest anti-slavery publications, Mrs. Child's *Appeal*, contains a chapter in which this is fully exposed,) and now they are coming to see that what we have told them on this subject is true.

There is in the same paper an article on the right of petition, (in regard to which the rights of the people have been so outrageously assaulted by their representatives,) in which that right was exhibited in its true light. I hope it will be copied and published, in connexion with the proceedings of this meeting, as a concession of the principles for which we have been contending.

But let me, in this connexion, read part of a letter from that man, of whom scarcely too much can be said in his praise—I mean the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. [The extract not obtained.]

How in point is this letter! I read with emphasis one sentence. I repeat it. ‘Nothing can be effected till the people shall be aroused to see and feel that the contest is for their own freedom, not less than for the liberty of the enslaved.’ It is exactly in connexion with this, that I wish the exposition that brother Garrison has given of the present state of things, to go forth and spread through the land. It is not that he has forgotten the slave. That can never be while he lives. But that the people must be made to feel that their own rights are implicated. We cannot enjoy liberty, while multitudes in our country are trodden under foot. We cannot acquiesce in such a system of unrighteousness with impunity to ourselves. I thank God that we cannot. I hope the report just presented will be circulated as extensively as the funds of the society will admit, for it will do much to make the people see that we cannot enjoy freedom under a government that enforces slavery. We cannot think that the people of these United States cannot be rallied to maintain the right of petition, the freedom of speech and of the press. I believe it is only necessary for them to see just how these rights have been violated, to lead them to rally round our liberties. It is necessary that such a document as we have heard, should be sent all round the country. We are hearing from others smooth things—flattering words. In view of many in high places, there is nothing alarming in the state of our country. Even our Governor has told us, in his late thanksgiving proclamation, that the ‘substantial elements of our prosperity are all unimpaired.’ Did you notice this sentence in his Proclamation, Mr. President? If you did, I know you were shocked at it. But, Sir, the same sentiment has been uttered from a still higher place. You will find the same, (almost in the same words,) in our President’s late annual message. We must not rely upon what the great men of the nation tell us. They prophesy falsely! *The substantial elements of our prosperity are greatly impaired.* It is only necessary for the people to see this, and they will fly to the rescue, and do what they may to repair them. Therefore I move that this Report be published, and be distributed far and wide.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

H. G. Chapman, Esq., Treasurer, submitted his Report, which, being duly audited, was accepted.

Mr. Stanton announced that he happened to be in the Representatives' hall, this day, when the petition was presented for the use of the hall, for a meeting of this society on Friday evening. He said a motion was made to refer the motion to the committee on public buildings, which was lost, ayes 118, nays 156. Some, he supposed, voted for this resolution, expecting thereby to give the petition the go-by, and others, supposing it to be the proper course. On motion of Mr. Brown of Lynn, the use of the hall was voted by a large majority.

On motion, voted to adjourn to 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

### WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

3 o'clock, P. M. The President in the chair.

Prayer by Rev. S. Lincoln, of Gardner. A. A. Phelps from the Committee to nominate officers for the year ensuing, made a report, which was accepted, and the gentlemen elected.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee on finance—viz. S. J. May, J. E. Fuller, H. G. Chapman, W. Bassett, and A. St. Clair.

Mr. Phelps submitted a series of resolutions on the subject of the Congressional gag-resolution of Dec. 21st, as follows:

#### CONGRESSIONAL GAG-LAW.

Resolved, That the resolution adopted in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December last, whereby all memorials, petitions and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory or district of the United States, are laid on the table, without reading, reference, or printing, is a virtual denial of the sacred right of petition, a gross insult to the people, and a daring violation of the American Constitution.

Resolved, That the adoption of such a resolution furnishes fresh evidence of the awful degeneracy of this nation, and a startling exhibition of the nature and spirit of slavery—a system which denies to its wretched victims the right to pray for relief, and then tramples on the solemn provisions of the Constitution, in order to enforce silence upon freemen.

Resolved, That those representatives from the free States, who voted for that resolution, have proved themselves recreant to their high trust, and deserve the reprobation, not only of their constituents, whose rights they have so grossly betrayed, but of the friends of freedom and free institutions throughout the world.

Resolved, That JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in declaring in his place that the resolution in question was unconstitutional, and a viola-

tion of the right of speech and debate, has furnished an example of moral courage and heroic firmness in defence of the people's rights, which entitles him to the warmest thanks of every friend of liberty; and that those representatives who voted against the resolution are entitled to our cordial approbation for resisting a measure fraught with such direful consequences to the country.

Resolved, That the question which this resolution presents to the people of the free states is a question of liberty or slavery for themselves and their posterity—that on such a question there can be no neutrality, no middle ground—and that it is the solemn and imperious duty of the people, without distinction of sect, party or sex, to send in their united remonstrances against it, and to call upon their representatives, in a firm and decided tone, and in the name of all that is sacred in human liberty, **IMMEDIATELY TO RESCIND IT**.

Resolved, That the threat recently uttered on the floor of the United States Senate, by Mr. Preston of South Carolina, that the citizens of that State, in spite of the interference of all the governments on earth, will 'HANG' every northern freeman who believes in the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, and whom they can 'catch' within their borders, was a gross insult to the people of the Free States, and affords a striking exhibition of that spirit of ruffianism and murder which is inseparable from slavery.

Resolved, That Northern Senators, in suffering that threat to pass unrebuked, have manifested a spirit of pusillanimity derogatory to their character as men, and to their station as the representatives of freemen; and that they are themselves deserving of the stern rebuke of their insulted constituents.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the President and Secretary of this Society, be sent to every member of the Senate of the United States.

The foregoing resolutions were discussed at length by Messrs. Phelps, Stanton, Harris, &c. In the course of Mr. Harris's remarks, some of which were extremely ridiculous, there was much laughter and confusion; and as it was thought that there was a disposition, on the part of some individuals, to laugh or hiss him down, on motion of Mr. May, the following resolution was passed:

'That, as abolitionists, we repudiate any attempt on the part of any one, to hiss or put down any man, because he utters sentiments in our meetings which do not accord with our own.'

The resolutions were laid on the table till the evening, and the Society then adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock.

## WEDNESDAY EVENING.

Society met agreeably to adjournment, the President in the chair.

Prayer by Rev. C. T. Torrey, of Salem.

'Congressional gag-law' being the order of the evening, the resolutions on that subject were debated by Messrs. A. A. Phelps, N. Colver, J. W. Browne, W. Phillips, Mr. Mack, O. Johnson and C. P. Grosvenor, and then unanimously adopted.

The committee then submitted a resolution, in reference to the definition of republican liberty, in a recent sermon of Rev. H. Winslow, of this city, which, after some debate, was laid upon the table to be taken up at the next session; and the Society adjourned to meet at the same place, Thursday, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

## THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Meeting called to order by the President.

Prayer by Rev. George Goodyear, of Ashburnham.

The resolutions in reference to Hubbard Winslow's 'republican liberty' was called up; and was discussed by Messrs. Scott, Allen, Phelps, May, Horton, Colver, Toothaker, and Torrey; and then adopted with but two dissenting votes, as follows:

Resolved, That the doctrine recently promulgated by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, a popular preacher in the city of Boston, and echoed from the presses with commendation, that 'Republican liberty is only the liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect,' is a sentiment that deserves the *execration* of *all* who mean to preserve their civil or religious freedom. It is a sentiment, which, should it be disseminated, until it becomes the public opinion of our country, would leave us little more liberty of speech than the slaves themselves enjoy; who are doubtless free to speak as their masters please.

Resolved, That it is the inestimable right of the minority, however small, ay, of a single individual, however humble, to utter any thought he may deem important—to speak as pleases himself—being amenable, as a man, in the first instance, to the higher laws of conscience and God, which should restrain him from all abuse of so high a right; and in the second place, as a citizen, to constitutional laws—and that the doctrine referred to goes to dethrone God from his moral government, inasmuch as it substitutes the will of the human brotherhood for the eternal principles of truth and righteousness.

Adjourned to 1-2 past 6 o'clock.

## THURSDAY EVENING.

President in the chair. Prayer by Rev. O. Scott. Rev. S. J. May, chairman of committee on Finance, submitted a report. The subject of funds was then ably discussed by several speakers, and on motion of Mr. May, it was

Resolved, That the auxiliaries of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society pay into the Treasury of the Society, during the ensuing year, at least ten thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the Board of Managers; and that all not expended in the operations of this Society shall be paid to the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The taking of pledges was deferred by vote until to-morrow; and Mr. Torrey accordingly moved that those gentlemen now present, and who will not be then, come forward and give in their pledges now. Several pledges were received.

The committee on business then submitted a resolution in reference to the recent speech of Attorney General J. T. Austin, in Faneuil Hall, which was discussed by Messrs. May, Stanton, Remond and others, and unanimously adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the speech of James T. Austin, at the late meeting in Faneuil Hall, excites our indignation and pity for him, as a christian, a lawyer, and a citizen. As a *christian*, that he could so far forget the brotherhood of those whom Christ came to save, as to compare a large class of his fellow beings to wild beasts, and describe another class as the appointed keepers of the human menagerie;—as a *lawyer*, that he should have taken the absurd and untenable position, that laws restricting freedom of speech in the slave States are binding upon a free citizen standing on the soil of a Free State. As a *citizen*, and especially as the highest prosecuting officer of the commonwealth, that he should so far disregard the supremacy of the laws, and the preservation of order, as to question whether the death of Lovejoy were not 'a justifiable homicide'—and in effect to sanction mobs, by asserting that when the claims of slavery and free discussion clashed, the citizens were justified in taking the law into their own hands.

At a subsequent period in the meeting, the following additional resolutions were submitted by the committee, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That said J. T. Austin, in stating to his fellow-citizens assembled in Faneuil Hall to commemorate the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, that a murder had been recently committed in the town of Stoneham, by reason of the proceedings of abolition-

ists in that place—was guilty of a gross misrepresentation and slander of a large and peaceful portion of his fellow-citizens, and lent his influence to do them prejudice in the opinions of their brethren and of the world, and to expose them to hatred, persecution, and illegal and riotous outrage.

Resolved, That said statement, and the sentiments and public declarations aforesaid, were dishonorable to him as a man, disgraceful to the character of Massachusetts, of evil example in any one, but eminently so as coming from a public officer, whose duty it is to appear and prosecute before the criminal courts of this commonwealth various classes of felons, the essence of whose crimes is deceit.

For these reasons, and to avert those mischiefs to the rights, safety, property and reputation of the good people of this commonwealth, which such conduct, in so important an agent and servant, has a direct and powerful tendency to produce,

Resolved, That a representation ought to be made to His Excellency, the Governor and the Honorable Council, and that they be requested, in case they shall be satisfied of the truth of the foregoing facts, forthwith to remove said Austin from office.

The Committee on business then submitted the following resolutions, which, after discussion by Messrs. St. Clair, Stickney, Torrey, Coddington, Durfee and others, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That in the intellectual and moral debasement of the slave population, on account of which they have been described by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, as the 'heathen of this Christian country,' we see the legitimate fruit of slavery.

Resolved, That this systematic annihilation of one sixth of the native mind in the country, is a plunder of the common stock of mind, as much worse than a similar plunder of one sixth of all the property in the land, as mind is worth more than matter, or men worth more than things.

Resolved, That every principle of justice and humanity, and every consideration of expediency and public welfare, demand alike the immediate and total abolition of this hateful and soul-destroying system.

Mr. Garrison read an interesting letter from D. L. Child, Esq. and also an extract from the speech of Daniel O'Connell at a recent anti-slavery meeting in London, after which the society adjourned to Friday, 10 o'clock, A. M. in the same place.

## FRIDAY MORNING.

President in the chair. Prayer by S. L. Gould. Mr. Hanson from Africa, made a statement of the manner in which he had been

decoyed from Africa to this country. Remarks were made by C. P. Grosvenor and O. Johnson.

Mr. Hogan, a slaveholder, was present, and opportunity being given, said that he regarded the principles and measures of the abolitionists as in violation of the constitution of the U. States and of the Bible, and solicited discussion. For the purpose of giving an opportunity for the discussion, Mr. Johnson moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists are in perfect accordance with the constitution of the United States and the Bible.

The discussion was conducted by Messrs. Hogan, Cole, C. P. Grosvenor, Prof. Cowles, Phelps, and others. At its close, Mr. Garrison submitted a further portion of the annual report ; which, on motion, was laid upon the table to be taken up at 9 o'clock, Saturday morning.

#### FRIDAY EVENING.

The Society met in the Representatives' Hall.

Prayer by Rev. Giles Pease.

Edmund Quincy, Esq. offered the following resolution :—

Resolved, That, while we would gratefully acknowledge the signal manner in which the Anti-Slavery cause has been prospered by Divine Providence during the past year, we see nothing in the circumstances by which we are surrounded, which would justify distrust in the continued blessing of Heaven upon our labors ; and that whatever political events may impend, or actually take place, during the coming year, our confidence in the ultimate and speedy triumph of our cause will remain unshaken.

The resolution was sustained by Mr. Quincy in an able and interesting manner, and unanimously adopted by the Society.

Rev. N. Colver then offered the following :—

Resolved, That the title of man to man as property, as sanctioned by slave law, should be regarded as legalized desecration of God's image ; and hence heinous sin is in all cases inseparable from the relation itself, and therefore that immediate emancipation is duty, and is the only righteous, safe and practicable remedy for slaveholding.

The resolution was ably and eloquently sustained by Messrs. Colver and Stanton, and unanimously adopted by the Society ;



after which the Society adjourned to meet at the Marlboro' Chapel, Saturday morning, at 9 o'clock.

## SATURDAY MORNING.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.  
Prayer by Prof. Cowles of Oberlin.

Rev. A. A. Phelps read a letter from Alvan Stewart, and Mr. Garrison read one from Arnold Buffum; and on motion,

Voted, That these letters, together with that of Mr. Child, be referred to the Board of Managers to be published in the Liberator.

That portion of the Annual Report which has reference to the 'Clerical Appeal,' was then taken up for discussion. As it was not prepared until after the meeting of the Society on Wednesday, it had never been submitted to the Board of Managers, and came before the Society, therefore, not properly as their report, but as the report of the Secretary merely, (as he stated) and on which the Board, as such, had had no opportunity of action either way—in that of approval or disapproval.

A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion for its adoption as submitted, when,

On motion of David Lee Child, it was at length, unanimously,

Resolved, That the second part of the annual report now before this Society, be accepted, and that the whole of said report be published under the direction of the Board of Managers, subject to such modification as said Board shall deem proper—it being understood, and said Board are hereby instructed, to express the decided and unanimous condemnation which this Society feel, and would on all proper occasions express, of the movement commonly known as the 'Clerical Appeal;' but without unnecessary or any personal severity.

On motion of A. St. Clair,

Resolved, That abolitionists have in view a single object—the abolition of slavery: that to accomplish this great end, we all meet on equal and common ground;—that we will require of no man a religious or political test, but hail every friend of immediate emancipation as a brother, and extend to him the right hand of anti-slavery fellowship;—that we not only regret, but will repudiate every attempt at organization on sectarian ground, and frown on any attempt to divide our ranks, as virtual enmity to the great cause, as calculated to distract anti-slavery societies, and to turn their efforts against each other instead of slavery.

The following resolutions were then submitted by the committee, and adopted by the society in their order.

Resolved, That the guilt of American slaveholding surpasses the guilt of slaveholding in any other age or country.

Resolved, That to 'plead the cause of the poor and needy,' to 'preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' and to 'execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor,' to the extent of each one's ability and opportunity, are solemn and religious duties, binding, in their several spheres of action, on all human beings; that these duties do not depend by any means, on the prospect of success, in the specific and actual abolition of slavery, but without such prospect would be binding, as a means of washing their hands in innocency in the case, on all alike; and therefore that a neglect of these duties, by whomsoever and wheresoever, and for whatsoever reason it be done, is the neglect of solemn and religious duty.

Resolved, That in the great number of Christians and Christian ministers who have enlisted, and who are daily enlisting in the anti-slavery cause, we have ground for fervent gratitude to God, and cheering evidence that the day is not distant, when all the real christianity of the country will be arrayed on the side of freedom, and will go forth in the spirit and power of its great author, 'to proclaim liberty unto all the people throughout all the land.'

Resolved, That to charge the Bible as being the supporter of slavery, directly or indirectly, is libelling the character of its Author, whose commands, like His character, are based on pure love and benevolence, and cannot be so construed as to sanction oppression *in any form whatever*; and is directly calculated to spread infidelity throughout the land.

Resolved, That the resolutions introduced in the Senate of the United States, by John C. Calhoun, a Senator of South Carolina, and with some amendment adopted by that body, are contrary to republican principles, and to every bill of rights that was ever framed, whether in monarchy or republic; that they are in virtual violation of the constitution of the United States, both in its letter and spirit, and do excite in us indignation, particularly as originating with an individual, twice elected to the second office in the nation, having been previously a candidate for the first, and at that period unbounded and loud in his admiration of these free States, and of institutions where the workingmen are not chattels and brutes, but independent electors.

Resolved, That the Senators of free States, who supported those resolutions, were false to their constituents and country, and doubly merit the indignation of a free and honest people.

Resolved, That the Senators who resisted those resolutions, and gave their voice for the inviolability of the rights of speech, of the

press, and of petition, merit and do recive our warm approbation and our hearty thanks.

Resolved, That county and town Societies in this State be requested to take early measures, to raise their proportion of the ten thousand dollars, which this Society has voted to raise the present year.

Resolved, That the sum of fifteen thousand dollars ought to be paid by the abolitionists in this State to the American Anti-Slavery Society, the present year.

Resolved, That in order to bring our colored friends within the brotherhood of this nation, we will encourage them in petitioning Congress, in their own names, for the redress of their grievances; and if not successful, then we will lend them our aid in bringing their cause before the court of the United States, to ascertain if a man can be held in bondage, agreeably to the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of our country.

The following were forwarded to the Society by Arnold Buffum, of Philadelphia, by letter, and submitted by the committee :

Resolved, That although slaveholders and their apologists may, through the prejudice of education, while their minds are wrapped in moral darkness, believe that it is no sin to hold men in slavery; yet no enlightened and intelligent mind, after such careful investigation of the subject as it is his duty to bestow, can regard such an act, under any circumstances, for a single hour, in any other light than as a robbery from men, having equal rights with themselves, of those idalienable rights bestowed by God to render life a blessing.

Resolved, Therefore, that the first great object of the advocates of human freedom from an unrighteous bondage, is and ought to be the diffusion of light, and truth, and love, with a knowledge of the nature and character of slavery, as it actually holds in its cruel grasp one-sixth part of the American people, relying upon the agency of God's holy spirit to sanctify to the enlightened understanding and consciences of men the important truths, which we, as humble instruments, may spread before them, and thus to accomplish the work of immediate and universal emancipation.

Resolved, That the principles which teach us our duty, in regard to the abolition of slavery, also teach us to pray for the abolition of war, intemperance, and every moral pollution, which mars the beauty of God's work, and obstructs the progress of human virtue and happiness in the world.

A vote of thanks to the proprietors, for the use of the chapel, was then passed, and the Society adjourned sine die.

# SPEECH OF EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ.

At the meeting of the Society, held in the Representatives' Hall on the evening of Jan. 27th, EDMUND QUINCY, Esq. of Boston,\* offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That, while we would gratefully acknowledge the signal manner in which the anti-slavery cause has been prospered by Divine Providence during the past year, we perceive nothing in the circumstances which surround us, to justify distrust in the continued blessing of God upon our labors; and that whatever political events may impend over us, or actually befall us during the coming year, our confidence in the ultimate and speedy downfall of slavery will remain unshaken.

In offering this resolution, Mr. President, permit me to congratulate the meeting upon the propitious circumstances under which we assemble. He must be of a desponding turn of mind indeed, —the temperament, I believe, of but few abolitionists,—who cannot perceive amidst the thick clouds which still overhang our land, many a bright ray of promise which assures us that the beams of the Sun of righteousness will not forever be obscured by the mists which rise from a sensual and mercenary world. The thunders of denunciation, indeed, still fall on our ears, but their peal is now heard from the right, and is ominous only of good. The love of universal liberty has entwined itself with the heart-strings of tens of thousands of freemen, and can never be severed from them till those hearts be drained. The Southern Senator who expects by magic formulas of words to annihilate us, must first realize the wish of the Roman tyrant, that a whole people had but one neck, that he may encircle it with the halter, which we are assured, on high authority, is reserved for us in a sister State.

The principles of the Immediate Abolitionists have been scattered broadcast over the land, and have but seldom fallen upon an arid soil. What though the city be still steeped in a death-like stupor—the country is everywhere awake and alert. What matters it that the benumbing spirit of Traffic still broods like an incubus over the Exchange—the light of truth has reached the eyes of the men on the work-bench and at the plough. Of what consequence is it that every church in this metropolis is closed against us, when the village church and the village school-house expand their portals to the free discussion of truth? What though the entire metropolitan press, with one or two honorable exceptions, is marked with a pusillanimity—a cowardly subserviency to prevailing prejudices—an abject servility to the will of the wealthier

\* Son of Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University.

classes, or of the party whose tools they are—and an overbearing insolence towards minorities, and those whom they esteem weak and unpopular,—which would put to shame the veriest slave that ever registered the edicts of a despot;—the organs of the country breathe daily more and more the true spirit of Liberty. From the city, we have almost nothing to expect—from the country, every thing.

The eager competitions of trade leave but little time for reflection on the eternal principles of Truth and Justice, on which the prosperity of States depend. The apprehensions of loss in business, entertained by men in active life, and the fear of change felt by those who are at ease in their possessions, but too often chill many a naturally good heart, and becloud many an originally sound understanding—and shuts up men meant for better things within the narrow circle of a selfish conservatism. It is strange to see how the prejudices of property are almost invariably arrayed on the side of the slaveholder; and it is these prejudices which we are chiefly called upon to combat in this city. It is the idea that the abolitionists are attacking property, that arouses every thing that is sordid and selfish in human nature to oppose our efforts. And yet it surely would not be hard to show that it is the slaveholder, and not the abolitionist, that strikes at the very root of all property. If there is anything on earth that belongs to a man, besides his soul, it is surely his body—his bones, sinews, muscles and brains, his labor and his ingenuity. Now of these tools, and of their productions, the slaveholder robs the slave. The slaveholder and his apologists assume that human laws may rightfully deprive a man of his property without his consent; an assumption utterly groundless. Property does not rest upon man's laws—it is an institution of God. Whatever I can obtain by my labor and ingenuity legitimately applied, is mine by the direct gift of my Creator; and cannot be righteously taken from me without my consent. If human legislation may rightfully deprive me of these foundations on which all other property rests, of course it can take from me my house, my lands, my money, without my consent and without equivalent, and bestow them at its pleasure upon any other. Let the rich men who are exerting their powerful influence in the support of the atrocious system of robbery which is legalized in the southern States—take heed to themselves! They are bowing themselves upon the very pillars which sustain the edifice of property—let them beware, lest the whole fabric come thundering down upon Mammon and all his worshippers.

That this mercenary spirit is the one which possesses our great cities, and creates the public opinion which bears a tyrant's sway over them and all within their reach, is a truth as undeniable as it is melancholy. Its unquestionable existence should make us realize the more vividly how noble and generous are those natures which defy its power; and prove that the character of a merchant is com-

patible with the most disinterested love of mankind, and the most ardent aspirations after universal freedom. Such admirable examples we have amongst ourselves—such adorn the commercial metropolis of this country. Let us love and honor such instances of magnanimity and true greatness!

The omens are everywhere most propitious. The advocates of slavery, driven in from their entrenchments of sophistry, have been forced to fall back upon the divine merits of the system for its defence. The thin disguises of humanity and religion are now almost entirely thrown aside, and the supporters of the Patriarchal system now mainly rely on its intrinsic merits and sublime virtues. The battle between Truth and Error is now fought on equal ground. The fiend, stripped of his cherub shape, no longer affects the character of an angel of mercy bringing comfort and light to an unhappy race, nor even of a sorrowing spirit grieving over the task imposed upon it, but stands up in his native naked deformity,

‘A monster of such horrid mien,  
That to be hated, needs but to be seen.’

The southern defenders of slavery, and their friends at the North, seem to be infected with that madness with which, according to an ancient poet, the gods ever visit those whom they intend to destroy. A thousand presses, and an army of sound reasoners and eloquent orators, could never have brought about the revolution in public sentiment, of which we see the pregnant proofs around us in twenty years, which the course of the southern statesmen and of their humble followers at the North, have effected in three. In spite of the opprobrium which has been attached to the opinions we hold; notwithstanding the servile attitude which the legislatures of but too many of the free States have assumed with regard to the slave question; in spite of the array of wealth and talent which has been marshalled against us, and that, too, in quarters whence we might have expected better things; notwithstanding the popular violence which all these incentives have provoked; our principles have made such progress, that already they have found utterance on the floor of both houses of the national legislature. Already has a sovereign State uplifted her voice, and denounced the nation's guilt. In the presence of the whole world, she has shaken her skirts, and called upon all mankind to witness that she is guiltless of the blood of the innocent. May our own beloved Commonwealth soon take her place by the side of her generous sister; and prove that she loves her own freedom too well to dare to deny it to others! The sublime attitude which Vermont has recently assumed is an augury of the happiest promise. A people chiefly devoted to agriculture, of simple manners, uncontaminated by the influence of great cities—but of sterling moral and religious worth, have volunteered to occupy the post of honor, in the great warfare which is now waged against the most enormous of abuses. This

is a cheering sign, that if the truth can but be brought home to the yeomanry of the free States—and what combination of interested men can keep it long from them?—the work is done, the slave is freed, the country is safe.

The contumelious scorn, too, with which the voice of a free State has been treated on the floor of the Senate, by the very men who are the loudest in maintaining the sovereign rights of their own State, is another symptom of that madness which goes before destruction. If the Southern Senators, who made use of the infamous language, of which we read, towards the expression of the sentiments of a free State, expect that the spirit which dictated that expression will quail before their fulminations, I think that they have mistaken their men. If the majority of the Senate which passed the disgraceful resolutions—disgraceful only to themselves—which were introduced by a slaveholding Senator, really believe with him, that they will silence the Abolitionists, I apprehend that they never labored under a greater error. If that political conjuror really expects with his magic spells and words of power to allay the storm which he sees gathering, and threatening his beloved domestic institutions, let us endeavor to convince him, not with vain boastings but by resolute action, that the agitation which has hitherto stirred our atmosphere is but a zephyr compared with the moral tornado which shall now sweep over the land; a tornado, which, gathering strength in its gyrations as it sweeps over the free States, shall at length burst with irresistible force upon the land of the oppressor, and level forever with the ground the gloomy castle of Despair—the blood-cemented fabric of Slavery, whose turrets indeed insult the heavens, but whose foundations rest only on the sand.

I have said, Sir, that the auspices under which we meet are of the happiest promise. But then there are perils, and those imminent—perils, which in the opinion of many wise men threaten to lock forever the fetters of the slave, and even to throw the links of the chain around the limbs of the free. If Texas, say they,—the land of the pirate and the murderer, the common sewer into which is drained all the filth which is too abominable even for the Slave States to endure—if Texas be annexed to the United States, then Slavery will be forever entailed upon us, and the preponderance which will be given to the slaveholding interest in the councils of the nation, by that event, will render the freemen of the North but the serfs of a southern task-master. If Texas be not annexed, then the Union will be dissolved; a slaveholding confederacy will be formed, and slavery forever perpetuated.

Sir, if I believed that one or both of these events would certainly take place (which I do not,) I never would admit that such consequences would necessarily result from them. I have many blessings, Sir, for which to be grateful to the Giver of all good, but I hold none of the least of them to be a sanguine temperament.

Especially do I thank God for the trust in Him which He permits me to feel; for the confidence which He inspires, that no machinations of man can prevail against his counsels; for the certainty that He overrules all events for good. I thank God, that when I am assured that a cause is His, I can feel no fear!

I am sure that no man can deprecate more sincerely than I do, the annexation of Texas to this Union. I believe that I realize all the immediate and all the remote bearings which that event would have upon the great cause of Universal Freedom. There is no effort which I would not make—no sacrifice to which I would not gladly submit—to avert this most hateful alliance. But were it accomplished to-morrow, should I despair? Should I despondingly abandon the cause of God and liberty on that account, and believe that the trickery of a handfull of scurvy politicians at Washington could cancel the decree registered in the Chancery of heaven—that every slave shall be free? Should I even believe that the period of universal emancipation would be very much delayed by that event? No, sir. The only effect which such a blow would have upon me, and which I believe it would have upon every abolitionist, would be to make me feel that a great work was to be done in a short time:—that we must concentrate all our efforts, and multiply all our machinery for acting upon the public mind, before the young dragon by the banks of the Sabine be fully grown, and before she have engendered a brood like unto herself, to be arrayed by her side against the cause of God and Freedom. The urgency of the case would animate us to redoubled efforts and increased contributions. He that has hitherto given a week's personal exertion in the cause, must then give a month's. He that heretofore has contributed ten dollars to the treasury of the Lord, must then cast in fifty. If we will but resolve that slavery shall be abolished before Texas be strong enough to form an insuperable obstacle in our way, it will be done! All our hope is from the agitation of the question in the Free States; all we want is to get the ear—to arouse the attention of the people of those States—to make them feel the magnitude of the guilt and danger which they incur by their tacit acquiescence in the execrable system of slavery. When this is done, all is done. The manacles drop from the limbs of the slave. The clouds of prejudice and fear, with which the spells of slavery have darkened the minds of the free, vanish. The misrule and disorders with which the spirit of slavery has cursed every region of our land, will be known no more. If such a deed as the annexation of Texas to this Union cannot arouse them from their torpor, surely nothing but the last trumpet can burst their iron slumbers.

But then if Texas be not annexed, or if it be, and the agitation of the slavery question goes on, the Union will be dissolved. Well! and what then? Why, a Southern confederacy will be formed, a military cordon will be drawn around its borders to keep off the



infection of Truth ; a second Sparta will spring into life in our land—an armed nation served by Helots ! This would be a singular spectacle, to be sure, in the nineteenth century, and in a Christian land. But let us suppose that the long threatened dissolution of the Union will actually take place—though the bugbear has been so often tricked out to frighten us, that the very children in the nursery laugh at it—what benefit or advantage would the slaveholders gain by that event ? Much, sir—much every way ! Inestimable benefits ; incalculable advantages ! For whenever proclamation is made that the Union of these States is dissolved, on that day the death-knell of slavery is tolled. As soon as they are released from the fatal embrace of their northern friends, their patriarchal system falls to the ground. It is the sympathy and encouragement of the free States which sustain that system now. Let the ties of interest, which create that false sympathy, be severed, and it vanishes ; stifled humanity revives, and the oppressor must soon break his rod for very shame. It is a strange infatuation to suppose that any military force, or any custom-house regulations, could keep from the inhabitants of any country the influence of the wholesome public opinion of the neighboring nations, and the scorn of the civilized world. It would be as absurd to endeavor to keep out the light of truth from a people by surrounding them with a cordon of bayonets, as it would be to attempt to exclude from a land the beams of the blessed sun, by planting along the frontier, a cordon of parasols. It is in vain to imagine that the irresistible might of a healthful public opinion would not easily overleap the bristling barrier, and work that change which opinion has ever wrought in the affairs of mankind.

But should that day ever come, what would be the condition of the unhappy slaveholder, who should venture to pass the glittering line ? I fear, sir, that his situation would not be much more comfortable than would be that of an abolitionist in South Carolina at the present day. For at that time we shall hear no more of mobs to put down abolitionists ; no, sir, if mobs then exist at all, (which God forbid ! ) it will be the straggling slaveholder that will be the victim. For then ' the prevailing voice of the brotherhood ' will be on the side of the oppressed. Then liberty will not be a forbidden theme even in Faneuil Hall. The municipal authorities of that day will not refuse the use of ' that consecrated Hall,' on the ground that an expression of sympathy with the oppressed, of indignation at the oppressors, and of hatred of oppression, could not be regarded as the public voice of the city of Boston. The eternal truths of Liberty and of Humanity will then (hazardous as the prediction may now seem) be proclaimed even from the pulpits of this city. In those days, no itinerant slaveholders will stroll through our land, teaching freemen how to vote. In those days, no reverend man-stealer will break unto us the bread of life, with hands full of his brother's blood. Then our sympathies will be rightly

bestowed. The brutal slave-driver—the callous overseer—the miserable tools that lock the handcuff and inflict the lash, will be regarded, as they should be, with almost unmitigated compassion. It will be the Governors, and the Judges, and the Senators, and the Doctors of Divinity, and the honorable women—it will be they who rob their brethren of their bodies and their souls, and then say, I have done no wickedness—who will excite our astonishment and horror; who would excite, were it not that they are immortal beings, our contempt and abhorrence.

When that time arrives, no flattering caresses will welcome to the free cities, the coming slaveholders. The banquet will not then be piled for them. The feast and the dance will not then be instituted in their honor. They will be to all a by-word and a hissing. Even he that sees them afar off in the street, will cross over to the other side, lest haply his garments should brush against them. They will be avoided as if they were infected with a physical, and not a moral pestilence. Whither, in that day, can the wretched slaveholder fly? Whither can he go where scorn will not pursue him? England already almost rejects him from her hospitable shores. The whole civilized world will soon be closed against him. The most abject slaves of the old tyrannies of Europe will turn with contempt and loathing from that most incongruous monster; a democratic despot. There will be but one way by which he can regain his place by the side of civilized and Christian men, and that way is justice. Let him repent of his oppressions, and make reparation to his victims, and the arms of Christendom will be expanded to welcome him back to its communion; and the joy which the repentance of a sinner awakes in Heaven, will be echoed and prolonged on earth.

I have trespassed too long, sir, on the patience of the meeting; but I could not repress the expression of my satisfaction at the auspicious circumstances under which we assemble. The extraordinary manner in which our cause has been prospered, is, I believe, without example in the history of Reforms. But seven little years ago, and a single arm upreared the standard of universal freedom—but a single champion stood for Heaven and Right. He, indeed, was a host; one of those rare spirits which Heaven, at distant periods, sends upon the earth on holiest missions. He then stood alone:

‘The only righteous in a world perverse,  
And therefore hated, therefore so beset  
With foes, for daring single to be just,  
And utter odious truth.’

He then stood alone. Now the noble army which his war-cry has called into being, swarm in our valleys, and keep watch on every hill-top. Its bright legions hover upon the very frontiers of the enemy, and even encamp within his borders. It is composed of

resolute, determined, fearless men; whom no obstacle can daunt—no danger terrify. They will not doubt or falter, let what will be-tide. In the service upon which we are ordered, sir, let us fight the good fight with all alacrity and cheerfulness of spirit; being assured that as certainly as that Jehovah sits upon the throne of the universe, His truth must mightily prevail.

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JANUARY 24.

The following resolution was submitted by the committee to the meeting, and was adopted with but two dissenting votes :

Resolved, That the doctrine recently promulgated by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, a popular preacher in the city of Boston, and echoed from the presses with commendation, that 'Republican liberty is only the liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect,' is a sentiment that deserves the *execration* of *all* who mean to preserve their civil or religious freedom. It is a sentiment, which, should it be disseminated until it becomes the public opinion of our country, would leave us little more liberty of speech than the slaves themselves enjoy; who are doubtless free to speak as their masters please.

#### REMARKS OF REV. MR. COLVER.

Mr. President—I have heard nothing introduced to this meeting, or to the whole country, more detrimental to the cause of good morals, than the sentiment alluded to in this resolution. I shall not be able to go into the full merits of the subject, and bring out and discuss the principles involved, in the time allowed me by this meeting. [The meeting had previously voted, that no speaker should occupy more than fifteen minutes, at one time. It was, however, voted subsequently, that Mr. Colver proceed, without restriction as to time.] It is the popularity which this sentiment is gaining, which affords ground of alarm. The opinion is getting rife through the land, that no man has a right to utter a sentiment opposed to the views of the majority, when, by so doing, he will be liable to provoke an out-breaking of popular fury—and that, when the utterance of such a sentiment becomes the occasion of a tumult among the people, he stands chargeable with the result. It is under that sentiment that brother Lovejoy stands charged with murder, because he persisted in the exercise of his inalienable rights in opposition to the prevailing popular voice, and riot and murder followed. But, if this be the bounds of our Christian lib-

erty, what advance will the public ever make, in political, social, moral, or religious improvement?

I beg, now, sir, with this sentiment, that no man has a right to utter what is opposed to the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood,' to ask, how stands it with all the noble band of martyrs—yea, with Him who came to redeem our race from the bondage of sin? Let that sentiment have prevailed in the different ages of the world, and what reformation would ever have been achieved? How should we ever have advanced to the enjoyment of our present civil and religious privileges? Was this, indeed, the precious boon for which our pilgrim fathers braved the dangers of the ocean and the perils of the wilderness? Sir, such a sentiment is intended to cramp all the moral energies of mankind. Why, according to this, the minister of the gospel must not first ask what God says, but what evil consequences will follow, if I speak the truth—what is the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood,' that he may get down below that standard.

Sir, I feel myself humbled for my brother. When the pulpit has bowed down before the popular will, and the ministers of Jesus ask counsel of the 'brotherhood' instead of their Master, I feel humbled.

But let us look and see where brother Winslow will find his company. On a certain occasion, Jehoshaphat, the good king of Judah, went down to visit Ahab, the wicked king of Israel; and while there, Ahab beset him to go up with him to war against Ramoth Gilead. Jehoshaphat was willing to go, but wanted first to inquire of the Lord. So Ahab gathered together his prophets, about four hundred men, who all prophesied just according to Mr. Winslow's sentiment—they all spoke just what the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood would allow and protect.' But, among these prophets there was one, who made him horns of iron, and he went about hooking, and saying to the king, 'With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them.' O what a prudent man that was! He preached the gospel exactly to suit the 'brotherhood.' But, there happened to be an *abolitionist* there. Whether Jehoshaphat saw the evidences of deceit upon the countenances of Ahab's prophets, I know not; but he did not seem to be quite satisfied; and so he inquired, 'Is there not here a prophet of the Lord?'

'There is yet one man, said the king; Micaiah the son of Imleh, by whom we may inquire of the Lord; but *I hate him*, and the brotherhood have concluded not to protect him. He never prophesies good about me, but evil.' Well, now, then, I will leave it to the reverend gentleman, who has humbled the pulpit before the world, to find his company here. If he should not stand by the side of Micaiah, it will be because he has chosen his own position. Ah, I see that man, Micaiah; he stands up erect, like a man. He is never the man that will ask the brotherhood what

they will 'allow and protect,' before he speaks. Why, said the messenger that the king sent for him, 'Behold now the words of the prophets declare good unto the king, with one mouth: let thy word, I pray thee, be like one of them, and speak that which is good.' But, what said Micaiah? 'As the Lord liveth, *what* the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak.' When he came, what did the king say to him? Ay, that class of ministers who are always bowing to the people, are despised by the people. He who adopts Mr. Winslow's sentiment, will be despised by the people. Well, what did the king say to Micaiah? 'How many times shall I adjure thee that thou tell me nothing but the truth in the name of the Lord?' The king wanted the truth, yet he would not protect the man that had the courage to tell the truth. That is just like the wicked. They call the knave honorable; but their real friends, who tell them the truth, they persecute and despise.

I appeal to every man to decide this question as jurors. Where shall we put this man? With Micaiah, or with these fawning sycophants, the false prophets of Ahab? [I hope he may stand with him, in that day when he shall be called to give up his account to his Master.] But who shall be his associates? Where do his sentiments put him? With the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood.' According to him, if we go beyond that, we do wrong, and if evil follow, we are responsible for that evil. He shall have a pattern, if he desires it. Look at our Lord and Redeemer. Did he not know what would be the result of his preaching in Jerusalem? Peter, when he took him and began to rebuke him, might have thought that the Lord had made a mistake. But what was his answer? Knowing and foreseeing the result, he said unto Peter, 'Get thee behind me, *Adversary!*' There is the company for Mr. Winslow. Would not the language of his sermon have accorded with the language of Peter? I am not appealing to bad feelings, but to sober reason. The language is analogous. Our Lord went up, knowing what would befall him. I was going to say, let us try him by Mr. Winslow's rule. But I shudder at the irreverence. No; let us try Mr. Winslow by our Lord's ways. Mr. Winslow's sentiment is a slander upon the Lord. If that sentiment is right, he was wrong.

Again, the Apostles in Jerusalem stood up and testified to the truth. Was that what the brotherhood would protect? No; they applied Lynch law to them. But they got out of prison. An angel came and opened the doors. Mr. Winslow would have told him that he was in advance of public sentiment, and if he pressed too hard upon it, there would be a mob, and he would be responsible for the consequences. But what did the angel say? 'Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life.' And the very next morning, they stood on the same floor, speaking the same truths. The brotherhood tried it over again. The mob assembled, and expressed their astonishment that these

men should so disregard the 'prevailing voice and will.' But what did these men of God say? 'We ought to obey God rather than man.' O, that brother Winslow knew what that meant. It is the language of an honest man.

When the angel opened the prison doors, he knew what the Apostles had been doing. Let us see if an angel can be a pattern for us, according to Mr. Winslow's doctrine. Did he tell the Apostles that it was wrong for a man to do what the brotherhood will not protect? If an angel had counselled them in the language of Mr. Winslow, would they have believed him? The angel did not say so. 'Go, stand in the temple'—the very place where they had been standing—and speak all the words of this life.' Let the sentiment of Mr. W. be adopted by the ministry; and then farewell to all advance in the manners, morals, and religion of mankind. Let it be advocated by those whose business it is to cater for the public amusement; but not by the ministry, who stand as the representatives of the Lord Jesus.

#### REMARKS OF REV. MR. MAY.

It having been proposed to strike out the name of Mr. Winslow from the resolution, Mr. May said :

I too, Mr. President, am opposed to the erasure of the name of Mr. Winslow from the resolution. It is proper that the community should know by whose authority such a doctrine has been propounded. His name and influence have doubtless done much to give it currency. He is respected in this community. He is popular here. I was opposed to the amendment just now made in the resolution by striking out the word popular; and meant to have opposed it at the right time. I hope it will yet be restored, for I consider it an important word in the resolution. Mr. Winslow is a *popular* minister in Boston; and I therefore deprecate the sentiment quoted from him in the resolution, all the more earnestly. He is popular—and I fear, Sir, the sentiment or doctrine itself is also popular. Else why has it been copied into several of our newspapers with commendation? We all know enough of them to know that they cater to suit the taste of their patrons—and do not often venture to publish what is unpopular.

Again, Sir, I think it proper that his name should go along with the doctrine in question, because it is his doctrine. He is responsible to us and to the community for the utterance of it. It is his doctrine. He doubtless thinks it a good one. He has given his name and authority to it. He preached it, and afterwards published it from the press. It is not for us to separate his name from his doctrine. I for one shall insist upon their remaining conjoined, until he himself shall have become ashamed of the connection, and seek to dissolve it.

I am fully persuaded, Mr. President, that the resolutions now before the meeting are highly important ones. And as a considerable part of the audience have come in since the discussion upon them commenced, I will, with your leave, read them again. (Read them.) The excitement caused by the discussion of these resolutions satisfies me that they will produce an effect. I am anxious it should be the right effect; and am therefore not pleased with some things that have been said; and feel strongly impelled to take exceptions. I was particularly displeased with some remarks of our brother (Colver) last evening. They were unnecessarily personal and severe. I advocated the continuance of Mr. Winslow's name in the resolution; and I do still insist that it should be there. It is fair and proper that his name should be kept united to the odious doctrine, to which he has himself united it, until he sees fit to sue for a divorce. But because I advocated the use of his name in the resolution, I did not mean that he should be made the subject of our discussion, or the object of our condemnation. No, Sir. I agreed with brother Phelps, that we are concerned with his doctrine, more than with the man. And I fear, Sir, that the remarks of brother C. last evening, will tend rather to turn away the minds of those who heard them, from the doctrine, which cannot be too severely condemned, to the man, who they may think was hardly dealt with. The doctrine, Mr. President, deserves our execration. It is fundamentally and enormously wrong. Why, Sir, if it should prevail, it would put a stop to all reformation, all progress. The greatest improvements that have ever been effected in the condition of man, commenced with the expression of opinions and feelings by an individual, opposed to those which prevailed among 'the brotherhood.' The very design of our constitutional law was to protect the individual, in the utterance of an opinion *however unpopular*, so that if it should prove to be the good seed of truth, it might take root and bring forth its fruits. Oh, Sir, Mr. Winslow's doctrine cannot be too strongly condemned. And I regret that any thing should have been said to turn off the minds of any from the doctrine to the man, who has announced it. I trust he will yet be brought to see how bad a doctrine it is; and then I am sure it will be punishment enough for him to see his name where he has placed it, and where, until then, we ought to keep it—in connection with such a doctrine.

#### MR. COLVER.

*Mr. President*—It is very easy for a man to admit, on the part of a brother, that he has been too personal, and yet use the same personality himself. I like the mildness of my brother May. But I appeal to every one who heard me, to say if I wedded the doctrine any closer to the man than he has done. I brought out the case of the false prophets, and showed that they acted accord-

ing to Mr. Winslow's sentiment. I also brought out the case of Peter, and showed that Christ called him Satan for uttering Mr. Winslow's sentiment. If Mr. Winslow still persist in that sentiment, he will consider it his crown, and will not wish his name to be separated from it. But, if he considers the sentiment disgraceful to his name, they must go together till he separates them. I have heard some angry expressions abroad, in regard to the language used by me last evening; but I did not refer to any thing beyond the sentiment he has uttered. If that sentiment be an honor to him, then what I said will be an honor. If not, he has brought the reproach upon himself.

#### REV. MR. SCOTT, OF LOWELL.

*Mr. President*—The sentiment alluded to in this resolution, is a very strange sentiment to be promulgated by a Christian divine in the 19th century, much more in a land of republicanism.

Where did it come from? Why, Sir, I am not certain—I am not clear that it is even the doctrine of mobs. The doctrine of mobs is, that unpopular doctrine may be put down *by any means*. Where did it come from? It is a justification of mobs. The sermon asserts that one of the natural results of a republican government, is the prevalence of mobs. So our constitution, our laws, our republican institutions, for which our fathers fought, are brought forward by a divine, as a mantle to throw over those that are pleased to say what may or may not be said or done.

Well, did this doctrine come from slaveholders? I am not clear of that fact. If slaveholders admit that doctrine, a majority in the slave States would claim that 250,000 should not rule 2,000,000. This little minority governs thirteen States—they rule our Congress, and spread an awe and dread all over our country. They surely would not be very willing to admit this doctrine.

But where did it come from? It came from *expediency*. It is the very doctrine of expediency. It is that cringing, time-serving spirit, that would favor nothing that is unpopular. It is modern dastardly expediency, which, though it may not have come from slavery, yet it may owe its origin to slavery.

But no; I believe the gentleman got that sentiment from his own bewildered imagination. We are willing to leave him the sole father of that child. But the doctrine contained in that sermon, that abolitionists are responsible for all the tumults that follow the propagation of their doctrines—that Lovejoy was responsible for the mob that resulted in his own murder—will make every moral reformer, from the Saviour and the apostles down to the present time, responsible for all the opposition they encounter. They were responsible for all the lawless violence that followed their preaching. The Protestant reformers were responsible for all the blood shed by Queen Mary, and all the persecution awak-



ened by their preaching. Is this assembly prepared to swallow such a pill? According to that sermon, no moral reform is to be commenced, till the majority are reformed. A worse sentiment I recollect never to have met with; however pure may be the heart of that man, (and I do not question the purity of his heart.) It is so insidious. What if McDuffie tells us we have no right to speak? We all know better. What if mobs say we must not do this or that? We all know they are mobs. What if some corrupt political journals have proscribed us—we know the motives which govern them. But, when the pulpit refuses to give a ‘certain sound,’ it is striking at the foundation of all decision of character. When the pulpit comes out and utters a corrupt sentiment, there is cause for alarm. Let us put that sermon into the hopper and grind it out, and again put it into the hopper and grind it out, and scatter it to the four winds of heaven. It is such a sentiment as makes the liberty of speech and of the press, the liberty of mobs and lawless violence.

REV. MR. TORREY, OF SALEM.

*Mr. President*—I wish to protest, in the name of the Christian ministry of Massachusetts, against being identified with the sentiment referred to in these resolutions. They do not believe that they go into the pulpit with a commission from Jehovah in one hand, and a commission from the brotherhood in the other. If you find one man in this city, or out of it, who utters this sentiment, you will not find one in ninety-nine to favor it. They are, a majority of them, anti-slavery and republican in sentiment. I do not deny that there are individuals who have surrendered their commission from their master, and taken one from the brotherhood; but I do deny that this charge applies to them as a body.

One word as to personality. I was grieved last evening, and I have been to-day, with the personal remarks to which I have listened—not so much that truth has been spoken, as that the whole has not been said. But nothing has been said which has allowed to this man his deserts. I believe him to be an able and a faithful, an humble and pious minister of the gospel. Be it that this aberration is a great one—admit that he has uttered an odious and wicked sentiment—still, because he has sinned in one respect, I will not withhold from him my confidence as a Christian brother. I think there has been perceptible disposition to deny him this. But, if he must needs identify the Christian ministry with this sentiment, I say it is their solemn duty to repudiate it. When such sentiments come from ministers of the gospel, they must be met and exposed; and this I conceive to be the object of this resolution; and not, as has been intimated by Mr. Allen, to destroy Mr. Winslow’s influence.

What! this society attack Mr. Winslow? Not *as a man*—any one minister, *as a man*, is beneath our notice. We might as soon

attack straws. We have an object in these resolutions: it is to meet false principles as soon as they are uttered, before they get a hold on the public mind. We do feel that it is a degradation of the pastoral office for any minister to utter such a sentiment. What entitles us to say any thing about a man's sentiments? Because he utters them in a public assembly, or publishes them to the world through the press. I do, as an individual, repudiate the idea that we concede any right as a man, when we enter into the social compact. In acting the part of a good citizen, I concede no right.

REV. MR. ST. CLAIR.

*Mr. President*—I am sorry to hear apologies offered here, for the man who has uttered this sentiment, by those who ought to be the last to apologize. I heard my brother Colver last evening, and I did think some things he said were rather severe. But why were they severe? Because the case demanded it. Sir, I suppose it is a somewhat metaphysical point to determine how much sin a man may commit, and be a Christian. But, if George McDuffie should utter such a sentiment as this, we should feel none of this squeamishness about speaking of it in connection with his name. But now, forsooth, a man in this city has uttered it, and we must say nothing about him. Why? This is the very people among whom it was uttered; and must we not tell who did the deed? I believe it was said, also, that he was a very able, learned, and pious minister. Now, I say this only makes it so much the worse. Now, suppose a man gets drunk—dead drunk—and we apologize for him, and say, he is a very good man, but he will get drunk. Or, suppose he had bought and sold God's image, and we say, 'O, he is a very good man, but he will steal.' Or, suppose a man commits a crime, and when he is brought up before the court, it should be pleaded in his behalf, that he is a very good man. Now, if this man had been mean, and low, and degraded, we should not need any apologies. We don't condemn the ministry in him. I confess, I was at a loss to solve the problem, how he could abandon his commission, and take one from the brotherhood, and yet be a good Christian minister. I will not apologize for him, because I will not be connected with the crime. I wish not only to condemn the man, but to connect the man with the deed. I don't believe he will thank you for attempting to divorce him from his sentiment. What will he say of those who are so anxious that he should not be connected with the sentiment he has uttered?

## AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM IN EUROPE.

BOSTON, JAN. 23, 1838.

*To Messrs. Garrison and Phelps, Committee of Arrangements, &c.*

DEAR BROTHERS :

I regret that it will not be convenient for me to attend the anniversary meeting of our Society, for the purpose of taking a part in its proceedings. Do not suppose that this is owing to any abatement of interest or trust in our great cause ; on the contrary, the cause seems to me to have so shot ahead within the last fifteen months, that you are in no small danger of receiving aid and countenance from the prudent and politic. You are now, and perhaps have been for some time, more likely to be joined by false brethren, than to be deserted by the true.

It has been my lot, during the period above mentioned, to learn much of the change which has taken place in the estimation in which we are held, as a nation, by enlightened and good men in Europe. Having formerly passed two years there, I was prepared to appreciate this change. At that time, the face of a liberal European would brighten at the name of 'American,' and he would seize the first moment of conversation, to express his admiration and his hopes of our country. During my recent sojourn, I have heard very little interest expressed in us, except to have explanations and arguments suggested, by which it could be shown to Europe, that our conduct is not the consequence of our principles.

The leading causes of the change to which I refer, are,

1st, Our mobs.

2dly, The wider knowledge which, chiefly through their instrumentality, has been diffused in Europe, of the existence and horrors of American slavery.

3dly, Our treatment of the Aborigines.

In Great Britain, France, and Germany, we are regarded as the most cruel and rapacious people, since the times of Cortez and Pizarro.

Our treatment of the Aborigines appears the more odious, from the striking contrast which it exhibits with the present policy of other civilized and Christian nations.

The king of France has lately recalled the governor of French Guiana, and directed him to be brought to trial, for having issued orders to invade a settlement of runaway slaves, on the borders of that Province. The military commander is also ordered for trial by Court martial, for having executed those orders, and put to death some of those poor people.

A quarrel lately arose between the Caffres and the British colonists of the Cape of Good Hope. The governor of the Cape, at the head of the British forces, invaded the Caffre country, slaugh-

tered many of the inhabitants, and overrun the territory of a native chief, and annexed it to the Province. Dr. Phillip, the father of the Christian missions to that quarter, left the Cape in company with the deposed chief, and arrived last summer in England. At that time, a society had just been formed, called 'the Aborigines Protection Society,' of which the British anti-slavery leader in the House of Commons, Mr. Fowell Buxton, is President. This society examined the case, and having satisfied themselves that the colonists were the aggressors, and that the injuries for which the British arms had been carried into the Caffre country, were committed in retaliation for manifest and unprovoked wrongs, done to the natives by their Christian neighbors, they joined their representations to those of Dr. Phillip. These were so effectual with the government of the young and virtuous queen, that orders were immediately issued for restoring the conquered territory to its native sovereign and lawful proprietors, and a humane and upright man was sent out to supersede the Governor.

These bright examples, while they illustrate the justice and magnanimity of the people and rulers who have given them, react with a withering effect upon a people who have expended \$20,000,000, and are rapidly expending more, in slaughtering red men, and kidnapping them under the sacred form of a *flag of truce*, in order to rob them not of their lands only, but also of their children.

At the request of a French literary gentleman, and of a member of the Chamber of Deputies, I reduced to writing some considerations, previously stated in conversation, tending to show, that, whatever might be the apparent, there was no real foundation for the scoffs and exultation of European despots and sycophants over the wounds which freedom has received in the house of her friends in America. I submit the following extract :

'By what I have heard from you, and from others since I arrived in Europe, I see that the disorders, which have occurred in the United States, and remain without punishment, have disheartened the friends of civil and religious liberty, and encouraged its foes. You have not, you say, wherewith to reply to those who cite those disorders in answer to the theory of human rights. This complaint will wring the hearts of many Americans, and perhaps it may shame some.

I can only say, on this subject, as I did at the house of M. Garnier Pages, [the republican leader in the Chamber of Deputies,] that though I must confess the existence of great evils and crimes, and that they are of a nature to be peculiarly disgraceful to a republic, yet that it is only in a republic, with a perfectly free press, freedom of speech, and freedom of *association*, that such potent means could have been so rapidly and extensively organized, and employed by a few of the comparatively weak to expose the corruption and oppression of the strong, to rebuke them openly, and

to call upon them to forsake iniquity, and, what is more irritating, upon the people to forsake them.

The difference between republics and other forms of society where there is a free press, and monarchies where the press is trammelled, is principally this ; that in the former, though evils and abuses incident to human nature may exist, and gather strength for a time, yet there is a remedy in a free press and an enlightened public sentiment, which is sure to overtake them sooner or later, and to deal with them according to their nature and aggravation ; whereas in other governments, the evils are the same or worse, but without any remedy. It is true that the extreme publicity, which vice and misrule obtain in America through its free press, presents them in such bold relief, and under such odious aspects, that many good and liberal men are tempted to believe that American republicans are 'sinners above all other men.' Yet, if the freedom of the press, of speech, and of *association*, (for without the last, reformers will always lack the means of employing the first,) were as great under other governments, it would only be found in the upshot, that among our American evils, we have not that master one, of losing the right to 'resist evil.'

Was it ever seen before in the whole history of the human race, that comparatively few persons, most of them young men and weak women, were carrying on in the midst of a powerful and high-spirited nation, a reform going to the foundation of their social organization, and opposed to the vehement wishes and supposed interests of ninety-nine hundredths of that nation, including government, legislature, judges, priests, lawyers, doctors, brokers, merchants, manufacturers, office-seekers, office-holders, editors, demagogues, and the lowest rabble ; and yet the ægis of good laws was so far sacred that, as a general thing, it preserved their lives and protected their labors ?

Let those who take occasion from our American mobs to calumniate our American principles, show another nation in which this spectacle could have been witnessed. What would have been the fate of the missionaries and friends of man in the British West India Islands, if those colonies had been independent ? In any other country but our American republic, we abolitionists should have been massacred or burned alive like John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Savonarola, the Albigenses, and the eight thousand victims of St. Bartholomew's. Luther had a powerful prince, as a constant protector. What if that prince had been as much against him, as the American people under a strong delusion have been against us ?

I would further observe that those men, who trade in the flesh of their fellow-men, who buy and keep it, are tyrants and enemies of the human race ; that republicanism is not in them, but that they are in fact its greatest foes ; so that American slavery is in reality to be charged to the account of *despotism*, instead of *republican-*

*ism*. Republicanism must not be held to fend off against the *friendship*, as well as enmity of those men. Slaveholding and slave-trading Americans are a pretty fair copy of the ancient feudal masters of the people of Europe, not generally so ignorant as their prototypes, but all the worse for that, as their superior intelligence is employed in framing with ingenious cruelty worse laws than ever disgraced Goths and Vandals.

We have had frightful and fatal mobs, and what is still more mortifying, mobs excited to extinguish light and uphold slavery; but remember that fanaticism has had its periods in all nations, and that it is as strange and extravagant in the forms which it takes as in the deeds that it does. In France, a monarch, 'father of the people,' could burn at one time fifteen hundred of his children in a church; his brutal barons burned three hundred more in a castle at another; and these merely because they persisted in worshipping God according to what they believed to be his will. In the United States, a slaveholder of my acquaintance declared that sooner than emancipate, he would lock his hundred and fifty slaves in his house, and set fire to it! Who does not see that despotism is every where the same, whether exercised by such monsters as Louis, le Gros, and Simon de Moutfort, or by an American republican slaveholder?

With best wishes,

Your friend and fellow serv't.

D. LEE CHILD.

# OFFICERS OF THE MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR 1838.

## PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

## VICE PRESIDENTS.

CHARLES NYE, Sandwich.  
JAMES W. ROBBINS, Lenox.  
JAMES H. DUNHAM, Pittsfield.  
JOSEPH HURLBUT, Curtisville.  
GAIUS CARTER, Becket.  
ANDREW ROBESON, N. Bedford.  
NATH'L B. BORDEN, Fall River.  
DAVID TILTON, Edgartown.  
CYRUS PIERCE, Nantucket.  
TILLO'S. PACKARD, Shelburne.  
ROGER LEAVITT, Charlemont.  
ASA HOWLAND, Conway.  
GEO. T. DAVIS, Greenfield.  
WM. M. RICHARDS, Deerfield.  
WM. WHITTAKER, New Salem.  
THOMAS LONGLEY, Hawley.  
J. PARKMAN, Greenfield.  
SAMUEL OSGOOD, Springfield.  
ABEL BLISS, Wilbraham.  
JOSEPH A. MERRILL, do.  
S. WILLISTON, East Hampton.  
WM. S. STODDARD, Northampton.  
J. B. WILLISTON, do.  
GARDNER B. PERRY, Bradford.

JOHN G. WHITTIER, Amesbury.  
ISAAC WINSLOW, Danvers.  
GILMAN PARKER, Haverhill.  
WM. BASSETT, Lynn.  
STILMAN LOTHROP, Watertown.  
D. FAIRBANKS, Cambridgeport.  
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton.  
APPLETON HOWE, Weymouth.  
SEWALL HARDING, E. Medway.  
SAMUEL J. MAY, South Scituate.  
NATHANIEL EDDY, Middleboro'.  
SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury.  
JOS. CLEVERLY, Abington.  
JOS. SOUTHWICK, Boston.  
C. P. GROSVENOR, Sterling.  
DAVID PEABODY, Worcester.  
GEO. GOODYEAR, Ashburnham.  
GEO. WATERS, Holden.  
ADIN BALLOU, Mendon.  
J. W. FISK, West Brookfield.  
J. T. EVERETT, Princeton.  
E. L. CAPRON, Uxbridge.  
THOMAS W. WARD, Shrewsbury.

*Corresponding Secretary*—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

*Recording Secretary*—AMOS A. PHELPS.

*Treasurer*—HENRY G. CHAPMAN.

*Auditor*—SAMUEL E. SEWALL.

## COUNSELLORS.

ELLIS GRAY LORING,  
JOTHAM HORTON,  
ISAAC KNAPP,  
JOSEPH H. EAYRS,  
SIMON G. SHIPLEY,  
JOHN E. FULLER,

JOHN T. HILTON,  
C. T. TINGLEY,  
J. C. WHITE,  
SAMUEL PHILBRICK,  
WENDELL PHILLIPS,  
EDMUND QUINCY.

**Account of Money received into the Treasury of the Massachusetts  
A. S. Society during the year 1837.**

S. Lathrop, Watertown	\$ 5 00	Amount brought up	\$1396 52
A friend, Dorchester	1 00	Ladies of Hanover, to constitute	
Mansfield Anti-Slavery Society	16 00	Rev. A. G. Duncan and lady life	
Amesbury Ladies' A. S. S. to con-		members	30 00
stitute Rev. Mr. Towne a life		Ladies of Franklin, to constitute	
member,	15 00	Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D.	
Josiah Gifford of Sandwich	5 00	life member	15 00
South Scituate A. S. S. by S. J.		Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. S. by	
May	13 00	A. L. Bailey, on acc't. of pledge	16 50
Francis Jackson	30 00	Collections in Medford by D. H.	
Emerson Prescott	25 00	Forbes in consequence of labors	
Lynn A. S. S. on account of pledge	25 00	of J. T. Woodbury	20 00
Monthly Concert	2 44	Thos. Gould of Boston on account	
John Sullivan	25 00	of pledge of \$100, by T. Gould	
West Bradford A. S. S. to consti-		and Son	20 00
tute Geo. Cogswell, M. D. life		Mr. Nurse of Medway, collected at	
member	15 00	monthly concert of Mr. Ide's So-	
G. A. Brewer's ann. subscription	2 00	ciety there	24 00
John C. Gore's do do	2 00	Collection at Salem St. Church	
Hugh B. Lough do do	2 00	4th of July	34 52
John E. Fuller	5 00	C. C. Burleigh by I. Knapp	22 03
A friend by N. Southard	5 00	Ellis Gray Loring	100 00
Wendell Phillips, life membership	15 00	Donation by a friend	5 00
Individuals in Medford, by D. N.		Samuel Philbrick of Brookline	50 00
Forbes	30 00	Abington A. S. S. by Mr. Gould	26 50
Marshfield Juv. Soc. by Miss Little	10 00	Henry Chapman	100 00
Donations from Concord, by J. N.		Henry G. Chapman	50 00
Wilder	21 33	Collection at S. Scituate at the cel-	
Mrs. B. of Roxbury	1 75	ebration, 1st Aug. by S. J. May	16 00
Rev. Robert F. Walcott	5 00	Donation from a friend, by S. J. May	2 50
Horace Smith from Amherst A. S. S.	9 00	Jno. S. White of West Wrentham,	
Sam. B. Russell of Marblehead,		L. M. by his parishioners	15 00
life member	15 00	Collection at monthly concert in	
N. Heaton of Franklin, life member	15 00	Wrentham	2 50
Mrs. Nathan Heaton, life member	15 00	Ann T. Dickson of Harvard	50
Isaac Winslow	200 00	Roswell Goss, pledge at Convention	
West Bradford A. S. S. to consti-		1836	100 00
tute Rev. Abijah Cross, life mem.	15 00	do do Stable 25th Jan.	
David Gregg, Acton	20 00	1837	50 00
Francis Jackson	100 00	Sarah Clay of Lowell L. M.	5 00
Sylvanus Brown	3 00	Female A. S. S. Lowell	10 00
Edmund Jackson	100 00	Boston Female A. S. Society	64 00
Boston Juvenile A. S. Society	10 00	Joseph Southwick of Boston	50 00
J. French	5 00	Old Colony A. S. S. by G. Russell	25 00
Mrs. Bigelow, Dover,	1 00	Y. M. A. S. Soc. New Bedford by	
Rev. Luther Wright, Woburn, life		Rodney French	100 00
member	15 00	Haverhill A. S. S. by E. Hall, Jr.	30 00
Weymouth and Braintree A. S. S.	25 00	B. Wood on pledge, \$20, made at	
Ann T. Greene	300 00	Convention, by A. S. Society of	
Collection at Convention	38 00	Leicester Academy	11 10
Boston Female A. S. Society	100 00	Ruth Pratt, by E. Peabody	5 00
Salem Female A. S. S. to constitute		Mindwell Gleason, by D. Campbell	5 00
S. M. and A. E. Grimke life mem.	30 00	Four little girls	22
Lynn A. S. Society	16 00	Jno. Dickenson of Boston	10 00
Lynn Female A. S. Society	34 50	Danvers A. S. S. by I. Winslow	100 00
E. G. McElroy	3 50	Collec. at monthly concert, 25 Sept.	3 69
Abner Sanger, pledge at ann. meet.	50 00	Rev. Charles Fitch, ann. sub.	2 00

\$1396 52

\$2517 63



Amount brought up	\$2517 63	Amount brought up	\$5233 38
John Gulliver ann. subscription	2 00	—— Fairbanks	1 00
Rhode Island A. S. Soc. by Wm. Chace	25 00	Joseph Ricketson	20 "
William Rich	4 50	Wm. L. Garrison	1 "
A. M. Coburn, Salem	3 00	George W. Benson	1 "
Newburyport A. S. S. on pledge	100 29 00	—— Hayward	1 "
Dr. H. I. Bowditch, donation	5 00	—— Brown	1 "
Wilmington, Vt. A. S. S. by Wm. Stearns	0 00	—— Hale	1 "
Wm. Gregg of Bedford, Mass.	5 00	Edwin Thompson	1 "
Female A. S. S. West Brudford, to constitute John Burchen, L. M.	15 00	Samuel Philbrick	1 "
Francis Jackson of Boston, pledge at Worcester,	50 00	—— Richards	1 "
Boston Female A. S. S. on pledge one thousand dollars	44 00	—— Williams	1 "
Female Benevolent Society in Reading, by Lydia P. T. Brancroft.	6 00	James B. Congdon	1 "
Andover A. S. S. by Jno. Smith, pledge at Worcester	25 00	Isaac L. Taber	1 "
A friend in Lowell, R. P.	5 00	Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. S.	13 50
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, pledge at Worcester	12 00	E. L. Capron	1 "
Lynno F. A. S. S. for Liberator	50 00	J. King	1 "
Pawtucket A. S. S. for do	25 00	I. Washburn	1 "
Lynn A. S. S. by A. St. Clair	23 00	Stillman Lothrop	1 "
Groton A. S. S. balance of pledge twenty-five dollars	11 00	Uriah Ritchie	1 "
A friend	1 00	S. H. Evans	1 "
Amasa Walker on pledge 100	25 00	W. S. White	1 "
Dorchester Female A. S. S. to constitute David Sanford life mem.	15 00	B. Snow, Jr.	1 "
Bristol County A. S. S. by Jno. Bunage, Jr. from collections by G. H. Durfee, on pledge	200 00	A. Kimball	1 "
T. E. P. Weeks, membership	1 00	A friend	1 "
Geo. W. Bancroft	1 25	Francis Jackson	1 "
Henry A. Bancroft	1 00	P. Bliss	1 "
Sylvanus Brown	1 00	D. B. Sibley	} 12 "
G. W. F. Miller	1 00	Prudence Stone	
A. Walker	1 00	Almira Sibley	
C. Chipman	1 00	Abijah Wood	2 50
P. Holbrook	1 25	Jno. Reed, Jr.	1 "
Edward Earle	1 00	H. Waters	1 "
B. P. Rice	1 00	Seth Lee	1 "
J. Boardman	1 00	E. Clark	1 "
V. Wood	1 00	J. H. Wetherbee	1 "
A. Farnsworth	1 00	J. Waters	1 "
Charles Fitch	1 25	J. Hodges	1 "
William Bassett	2 00	Wendell Phillips	1 "
Jerome Harris	1 00	S. Goodhue	1 "
Samuel Lea	1 00	N. Pratt Jr.	1 "
Isaac Goddard	1 00	D. I. Powell	50
Nathan Parkhurst	1 00	—— Osgood	1 "
Joseph Robbins	1 00	Jacob Osgood	1 "
Reuben Bemis	1 00	J. S. Carter	1 "
A Friend	1 00	W. P. Ripley	1 "
Joshua Leavitt	1 00	A. Rice	1 "
Henry G. Chapman	100 00	J. M. Earle	2 "
A. Everett	1 00	A. St. Clair	1 "
J. T. Everett	1 00	Jno. Smith	1 "
		Ellis Gray Loring	1 "
		Thomas Jennings	1 "
		Nath. Southard	1 "
		J. E. Fuller	1 "
		Simon G. Shipley	6 "
		Benj. E. Smith	50
		Lucretia C. Haskins	50
		Pamela Allen	1 "
		George Trank	2 "
		Abner Sanger	1 "
		Emmons Prescottt	1 "
		T. H. Rice	1 "

Amount brought up	\$3341 88	Amount brought up	\$4360 90
J. Tillson	1 00	Newburyport Soc. on pledge of	
S. Stevens	1 "	100, by A. Stanwood	26 "
Hosca Green	1 "	Ladies' Society, Lynn	25 "
H. M. Bancroft	1 "	Wm. James Foley, membership	1 "
Roswell Goss	5 "	S. Philbrick, pledge at Worcester	100 "
Abijah Allen	2 "	R. Mossman	1 "
Unknown Friends	3 "	James Morrill, for the Liberator,	
J. Puffen	1 "	paid February last	10 "
D. Carmichael	1 "	John James Appleton do	10 "
E. G. Pratt	1 "	Edmund Quincy, life membership	15 "
Unknown	3 "	Israel Perkins, by Lynn Female	
S. Lincoln	1 "	Society, life member	15 "
Charles Hadwin	1 "	Stillman Lathrop of Watertown,	
Elias Savage	1 "	pledged at Worcester	10 "
J. C. Taber	5 "	Francis Clark, paid April 18, 1837,	50 "
J. D. Crosby	1 "	Walter Dickson, paid May, 1837,	
Purbeck and Harvey	2 "	on account of pledge of 25 dol-	
Henry G. Chapman	1 "	lars, of Groton Society	14 "
P. R—	1 "	C. F. Bayley, membership	1 "
W. S. Jinnings	10 "	John Bancroft, do	1 "
Plymouth Soc. by Wm. P. Ripley	10 "	A friend by Caroline Weston	2 "
Waltham Soc. by Wm. Brown,		Rev. E. Smalley, of Franklin, life	
Treasurer, for the Am. Soc.	25 "	mem, by the ladies of his society	15 "
Union Soc.—Weymouth and Brain-		Levi Hawes, Franklin	1 "
tree, by E. Richards	25 "	South Reading Soc. on pledge 25	
Boston F. Soc. by Treas. June 14	200 "	dollars, by Albert G. Sweetser	10 "
Worcester Soc. by A. A. Phelps	11 "	Natick Soc. by Edward Walcutt,	25 "
A friend in Worcester do	25 "	Abington Soc. Joseph Cleverly—	
Millbury Society do	20 "	balance of pledge of fifty dollars	23 50
New Ipswich Soc. do	8 "	2nd Juvenile Soc. of Salem, to con-	
Collection at Waltham do	10 27	stitute Eliza J. Kenney and Clar-	
Gardner Soc. on pledge 50 do	12 50	issa C. Lawrence, life members	30 "
Lady in Leicester, by S. L. Gould	1 "	1st Juvenile Soc. of Salem, to con-	
Boston F. Soc. to bal. pledge 1000	592 "	stitute Susan G. Roundey, life	
Lynn Soc. by Wm. Bassett, bal-		member	20 "
ance of pledge	11 "	Robert Bartlett, of Theological	
New Worcester Soc. pledge made		school, Cambridge, life member	
at Worcester, by D. H. Bundy	15 "	by the Plymouth Juvenile Soc.	15 "
Haverhill Soc. pledge made at an-		Lynn F. Soc. by A. A. Phelps	100 "
nuual meeting	10 "	Acknowledged in last annual report	
Danvers Soc. by Isaac Winslow	25 "	taken up at the stable	403 46
	<hr/>		
	\$4360 90	Total	\$5234 86

## CONTRIBUTORS TO LOVEJOY FUND.

Francis Jackson, Boston	10 00	Amount brought up	\$104 34
Joseph Southwick do	10 "	Monthly concert at Roxbury, by	
Samuel E. Sewall do	5 "	Jno. Jones	10 00
Ellis Gray Loring do	5 "	Do do Sandwich, by J. Gifford	7 57
One not an abolitionist	1 75	Do do Lyccum Hall, Boston,	
Henry G. Chapman	10 "	by J. V. Himes	20 "
Mary Gray Chapman	10 "	Joseph Robbins,	1 "
Jonathan Shove, Danvers	10 "	Union Religious Soc. of Brnintree	
A Friend	10 "	and Weymouth, by Mr. Garrison	25 71
Angelina Ammidon	1 50	Providence Female Society, by H.	
A Friend	2 "	L. Truesdell	12 "
Catharine D. Henrietta Sargent	2 "	L. C. Pratt, South Weymouth	50
Mrs. Ann Phillips	15 "	Lowell Soc. by W. S. Merrill Trea.	36 "
Mrs. D. L. Child	1 "	Collection taken up 'nt the Marlboro'	
Collection at a prayer meeting of the		Chapel, evening Dec. 22	46 27
Free Church, by Jno. Gulliver	6 09	A few friends in New Bedford, by	
Eliza T. Loud, South Weymouth	1 "	I. C. Taber	8 "
R. Mossman	1 "	Dorchester Soc. by Orin P. Bacon	10 05
John James Appleton	3 "	An abolitionist, Calais, Me.	6 "
	\$104 35	Total,	\$287 44

## HONORARY MEMBERS

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Arthur Tappan, New York.  
 William Rawle, Philadelphia.  
 Rev. S. J. May, Scituate, Mass.  
 Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, New Haven, Ct.  
 Rev. George Bourne, New York.  
 Hon. S. Crafts, Craftsbury, Vt.  
 Hon. A. Clark, Danville, Vt.  
 Rev. W. A. Chapin, Craftsbury, Vt.  
 H. Merrill, Esq. Peacham, Vt.  
 Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)  
 Rev. O. S. Murray, Orwell, Vt.  
 J. Ridgway, Staffordshire, Eng.

William Ridgway, England.  
 Josiah Wedgwood, do.  
 Capt. C. Stuart, do.  
 Joseph Phillips, do.  
 William Wilberforce, do. (dec.)  
 Thomas Clarkson, do.  
 Henry Newman, do. (dec.)  
 William Crawford, do.  
 Edward S. Abdy, do.  
 George Thompson, do.  
 David L. Child, Esq., Boston.  
 Rev. Amos A. Phelps, do.

## LIFE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

John Kenrick, Newton, (dec.)	Rev. J. V. Himes, Boston,
Prince Farmer, Salem.	Joseph Southwick, "
John Remond, Salem.	Amasa Walker, "
Charles Stuart, England.	John C. Smith, "
George Thompson, "	Edmund Jackson, "
Edward S. Abdy, "	William Carleton, "
Samuel E. Sewall, Boston.	George B. Emerson, "
Daniel Gregg, "	I. S. Withington, "
Charles C. Barry, "	Henry Chapman, "
Ellis Gray Loring, "	Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
James C. Odiorne, "	Isaac Winslow, Danvers.
Isaac Knapp, "	W. Farnsworth, Roxbury.
William H. Hayward, "	Rev. A. Jackson, Kingston.
Increase Gilbert, "	E. L. Capron, Uxbridge.
Rev. E. M. P. Wells, "	Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "	Rev. G. B. Perry, Bradford.
Benjamin C. Bacon, "	Rev. E. Seagrave, Attleborough.
Rev. Henry Jones, Cabot, Vt.	Rev. Jotham Horton, Boston.
Rev. D. T. Kimball, Ipswich.	Rev. Philemon R. Russell, Lynn.
Dr. I. Kittredge, Beverly.	Richard Clapp, Dorchester.
Dr. C. T. Hildredth, Boston.	Rev. J. W. Cross, Boxborough.
Silas Osborn.	A. F. Boston.
Wm. Oakes, Ipswich.	S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me.
Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell, Me.	Angelina E. Grimke, Philadelphia.
John Taylor, Bath, Me.	Eliza Watson, Boston.
Edward Southwick, Danvers.	Daniel Henshaw, Lynn.
Joseph Tillson, Boston.	Thomas H. Atwill, Lynn.
Phineas Wheeler.	John Rogers, Boston.
Mrs. George Thompson, England.	Abraham Bowen, Fall River.
Mrs. Calvin Philleo.	Harvey Chase, "
Mrs. Amos A. Phelps, Boston.	Jacob Noyes, Boston.
Mrs. Increase Gilbert, "	Lydia B. Capron, Uxbridge.
Mrs. S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me.	Gilbert E. Capron, "
Mrs. C. Winslow, "	Anne Bassett, "
Mrs. J. C. Smith, Boston.	Sarah Easton.
Miss Susan Paul, "	S. H. Peckham, Plaistow.
William Rotch, Jr. New Bedford.	Rev. N. Hervey, Marblehead.
Andrew Robeson, "	I. M. Wilder, Hanover.
Dr. Charles Follen, New York.	Rev. Edward N. Harris, Methuen.
Rev. George B. Cheever, Salem.	Rev. Isaac Sawyer, South Reading.
Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, Rutland.	Drury Fairbanks, Boston.
Joseph Sewall, Esq. Boston.	Christopher Robinson, Lynn.
Francis Jackson, Esq. "	Calvin Temple, Reading.
Rev. Henry C. Wright, "	Mrs. Elijah Demond.
John Sullivan, "	Hiram A. Morse, Holliston.
Perez Gill, "	Josiah Hayward.
D. Chute, "	E. T. Pritchett, Amherst.
John S. Kimball, "	Rev. James Cushing, East Haverhill.
Marcus Whiting, "	Rev. Jonas Perkins, Weymouth.
Timothy Gilbert, "	Mrs. Venns Manning.
Rev. Baron Stow, "	Abner Sanger, Danvers.
George Cogswell, M. D. West Bradford.	Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. Franklin.
Rev. Joseph H. Towne, Boston.	Jno. S. White, West Wrentham.
Samuel B. Russell, Marblehead.	Sarah Clay, Lowell.
Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	John Burchen, West Bradford.
Mrs. Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	Rev. David Sanford, Dorchester.
Wendell Phillips, Boston.	Edmund Quincy, Boston.
Rev. Abijah Cross, West Bradford.	Rev. E. Smalley, Franklin.
Rev. Luther Wright, Woburn.	Eliza J. Kenney, Salem.
Sarah M. Grimke, Philadelphia.	Clarissa C. Lawrence, do.
Rev. Abel G. Duncan, Hanover.	Susan G. Roundey, do.
Mrs. Abel G. Duncan, do.	Robert Bartlett, Cambridge.
David Gregg, Acton.	Joseph Ricketson, New Bedford.
Roswell Goss, Boston.	Israel Perkins, Lynn.

## LIST OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The following list, with all its imperfections, is submitted, as better than none. The errors which may be pointed out during the year, will be carefully corrected in the next Report.

The figures in the last column, enclosed in parentheses, represent the number of members at the date of the society's organization; the succeeding figures, the number at the present time. Where the original number of members is not thus given, the number which stands against any society was given when its organization was first reported.

### SUFFOLK COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Massachusetts, (State,)	Francis Jackson, Pres.	Jan. 1832,	
Boston, (Young Men's,)	Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Sec. Jotham Horton, Pres.	Sept. 1833,	(20)
Boston, (Ladies,)	Mary S. Parker, Pres.	Oct. 1833,	(12)
Boston, (Juvenile,)	Maria W. Chapman, Sec.	April 1837,	
Cowper, Boston,		May 1835,	
Essex Street, do.		June 1834,	
Pine Street, do.			
Salem Street, do.			

Total number of Societies, 8.

### BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
(No County Society.)			
Barnstable,		Feb. 1835.	
Barnstable, (Female,)	Mary F. Hallet, Pres. Rosilla Ford, Sec.	Sept. 1837.	60
Brewster,		June 1837.	
Falmouth,	Rev. Z. Stewart, Pres. Zephaniah Bennet, Sec.	Sept. 1837.	(30) 60
Harwich, (West,)			
Sandwich,	Ezra Toby, Esq. Pres. Josiah Gifford, Sec.	June, 1834.	82
Truro,	A. S. Collins, Pres. Jedediah Shedd, Sec.	Feb. 1838.	30

Total number of Societies, 7.

### BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Stockbridge,	Rev. Noah Sheldon, Pres. William Rossiter, Sec.	May, 1836.	155
Peru, Williams College,		Mar. 1837.	

Total number of Societies, 3.

## BRISTOL COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Bristol County, Attleboro', North,	Samuel Shove, 2d, Pres. Charles Anthony, Sec.	Oct. 1837,	42
Attleboro', West,	Joseph A. Wilder, Pres. S. M. Stanley, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	50
Fairhaven,	John Bunker, Pres. Clother Gifford, Sec.		
Fairhaven, (Female,)	Mrs. Susan Allen, Pres. Miss Delia Weeden, Sec.	Dec. 1837.	
Fall River,		July 1835,	(112)
Fall River, (Female,)		July 1835,	(106)
Freetown,		July 1833,	
Mansfield,	Dr. H. Skinner, Pres. I. Sterns, (E. Foxboro) Sec.	Dec. 1836,	305
New Bedford,		July 1834,	(30)
New Bedford, (Y. Men's,)	Joseph Congdon, Pres. Joseph D. Nichols, Sec.	Feb. 1836,	(50) 120
New Bedford, (Female,)	Susan Taber, Pres. Elizabeth G. Taber, Sec.	Nov. 1836,	(8) 26
Norton,	Rev. C. W. Allen, Pres.	Oct. 1836,	90
Pawtucket,		Jan. 1834,	(30)
Taunton,		May 1835,	
Taunton, (Juvenile,)			
Hebronville,	Dea. Seba Kent, Pres. Rev. C. Simmons, Sec.	Jan. 1836,	(30) 60

Total number of Societies, 17.

## DUKES COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Dukes County, Edgartown, Edgartown, N. District,	Benjamin Davis, Jr. Pres. Samuel Butler, Sec.	Dec. 1836.	33
Tisbury, West, Nantucket,	Isaac Austin, Pres. Rev. Cyrus Pierce, Sec.	July 1837.	300
Nantucket, [Female,]	Harriet Pierce, Pres. Anna Gardner, Sec.	Feb. 1838.	(8) 33
Nantucket, [Juvenile,]	Barzillai Williams, Pres. Eunice F. Ross, Sec.	Nov. 1837.	24

Total number of Societies, 7.

## ESSEX COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Essex County, Amesbury and Salisbury,	Daniel C. Bagley, Pres. James Watson, Sec.	June, 1834. Dec. 1833.	70
Amesbury, [Female,] Amesbury & Salisbury, [F.]	Louisa L. Wilcox, Pres. Eliz. H. Whittier, Sec.		144
Andover, Upper Beverly,	Rev. John Foote, Pres. E. H. Moulton, Sec.	Jan. 1835, Mar. 1838.	58

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Andover, West Parish,	Dea. E. Lovejoy, Pres. Moses Parker, Sec.	Nov. 1837.	36
Andover, [Female,]			
Andover, [Female Juv.]	C. W. Abbot, Pres. Louisa I. Foster, Sec.	Ap. 1837.	37
Bradford,	Rev. G. B. Perry, Pres. Nathaniel Ladd, Sec.	July 1835.	71
Bradford, West,	Dr. G. Cogswell, Pres. Wm. F. Johnson, Sec.	Aug. 1837.	28
Bradford, West, [Female,]		Aug. 1836,	
Bradford, East, [Female,]	Mrs. M. C. Morse, Pres. Ellen B. Ladd, Sec.	Oct. 1836,	78
Danvers,	Isaac Winslow, Pres. Samuel W. King, Sec.	Feb. 1837,	96
Danvers, South, [Female,]	Emily Wilder, Pres. Emily Winslow, Sec.	June 1837.	20
Danvers, [Female,]	Mrs. Isaac Winslow, Pres. Harriet N. Webster, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	60
Essex,	Wm. Foster, Pres. Samuel Burnham, 2d, Sec.	May 1837,	
Haverhill,	Rev. H. Plummer, Pres. George O. Harmon, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	(24) 86
Haverhill, [Female,]	Mrs. M. Longley, Pres. Harriet Minot, Sec.	July 1834,	87
Haverhill, East, [Female,]	Mrs. H. L. Cushing, Pres. Miss Abby Sawyer, Sec.	Nov. 1836,	50
Lynn,	Wm. Bassett, Pres. T. H. Atwill, Sec.	Ap. 1832,	(5) 236
Lynn, [Young Men's,]	J. W. Brown, Esq. Pres. Edwin Thompson, Sec.	June 1836,	160
Lynn, [Female,]	Deborah Henshaw, Pres. Abby Kelley, Sec.	May 1835,	190
Lynn, [Juvenile,]			
Lynn, [Juvenile, Female,]	Mercy T. Buffum, Pres. Emeline Breed, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	84
Newbury,			
Newbury, West, [Female,]	Mrs. Oliver Brown, Pres. Harriet K. Emery, Sec.	Aug. 1837,	30
Newbury, West, [Juv. F.]	B. O. H. Marshall, Pres.	Aug. 1837,	35
Newburyport and vicinity,	Nathan Crosby, Pres. J. H. Young, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	100
Newburyport, [Female,]		May 1834,	(80)
New Rowley,	Rev. Isaac Braman, Pres. Daniel Palmer, Sec.	May 1834,	(96) 107
New Rowley, [Y. Men's,]	L. A. Merrill, Pres. T. A. Merrill, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	20
Salem and vicinity,		Jan. 1834,	(70)
Salem, [Female,]	L. L. Dodge, Pres.	June 1834,	90
Salem, 1st Juv. Female,	Susan G. Roundey, Pres. Mary Brooks, Sec.		
Salem, 2d Juv. Female,	Eliza J. Kenney, Pres. Anna B. Frye, Sec.	June 1837,	35
Saugus, (River,)	B. F. Newhall, Pres. Abel Newhall, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	56
West Amesbury,	Rev. L. W. Clark, Pres. Edmund C. Jenkins, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	65
West Amesbury, Y. Men's,	Geo. P. Patton, Pres. Noah Jackman, Sec.		

Total number of Societies, 39.

## FRANKLIN COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Franklin County,	Col. Roger Leavitt, Pres. Rev. T. Packard, Sec.	Dec. 1836,	39
Ashfield,	D. Ellis, Esq. Pres. Jesper Bement, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	25(not aux)
Buckland, Charlemont,	Rev. Amherst Lamb, Pres. Dr. Moses Barret, Sec. Dea. Z. Graves, Pres.	Dec. 1836,	179
Deerfield, Colrairie, Conway,	Dea. Wm. Billings, Pres. Gen. Asa Howland, Sec.	May 1836,	
Greenfield, Hawley, Hawley, West,	John Vincent, Esq. Pres. Ebenezer Crosby, Sec. P. O. Address, Charlemont.	Nov. 1836, Dec. 1836,	(108)
Heath,	Rev. P. B. Fisk, Pres. E. P. Farnsworth, Sec.	July 1836,	60
Leverett,	Dea. Isaac Woodbury, Pres. Dr. Butler Wilmarth, Sec.	Jan. 1837,	119
Leverett, North, New Salem,	Hon. Wm. Whittaker, Pres. Eev. Erastus Curtis, Sec.		
Northfield,	Rev. H. J. Lombard, Pres. Charles Matoon, Sec.		40
Northfield, South East,	Jacob Caller, Pres. Calvin T. Swan, Sec.	Jan. 1837,	49
Shelburne,	Rev. T. Packard, Jr. Pres. Dea. Eben. Fisk, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	147
Shelburne Falls,	Dea. Phineas Field, Pres. Ralph B. Bardwell, Sec.	Oct. 1836,	94
Sunderland, North,	Rev. E. Andrews, Pres. F. Robinson, Sec.	Jan. 1836,	40

Total number of Societies, 19.

## HAMPDEN COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Hampden County, Brimfield,	Cyrel R. Brown, Pres. Philip G. Hubbard, Sec.	Mar. 1837.	150
Monson, Springfield, Wilbraham, South,	John B. Morris, Pres. S. B. Spelman, Sec.	Dec. 1837.	

Total number of Societies, 5.

## HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Hampshire County, Amherst, North, Amherst, (College,)	E. W. Allen, Pres. George Tuthill, Sec.	Jan. 1833,	60
Cummington,			



NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Hatfield, Middlefield, Northampton, Norwich, South Hadley Canal, Ware, Ware Village, Westhampton,	Joseph B. Boyden, Pres. Francis Loud, Sec.	Dec. 1836.	46
Westhampton, Female,	Mrs. Eunice Clapp, Pres. Louisa Clark, Sec.	Jan. 1837.	55

Total number of Societies, 13.

### MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Middlesex County, Acton, Boxboro,	Rev. U. C. Burnap, Pres. Jasper Stone, Pres. Samuel Hayward, Sec.	Oct. 1834. Jan. 1835,	50
Boxboro, Female,	Mrs. F. A. J. Cross, Pres. L. Wetherby, Sec.	Jan. 1835,	48
Cambridge, Cambridgeport,	Dexter Fairbanks, Pres. John Dallinger, Sec.	July 1835,	70
Cambridge, East, Charlestown, Concord, Female,	Mrs. John Wilder, Pres. Caroline D. Brooks, Sec.	Sept. 1837,	61
Chelmsford,	Dea. Benj. Dudley, Pres. C. B. Thompson, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	118
Dracut,	Rev. E. Goodman, Pres. C. G. Parsons, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	45
Framingham,	Dea. Eben. Stone, Pres. C. F. W. Parkhurst, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	(not aux.)
Groton,	Rev. A. Sanderson, Pres. Luther Boutelle, Sec.	Oct. 1834,	60
Groton, Female,	S. C. Rugg, Pres. Eliz. Farnsworth, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	(12) 83
Groton, Juv. Female, Holliston, Holliston, Female,	Hannah Hunstable, Pres. Joanna W. Kinsbury, Sec.	July 1834, Oct. 1837,	(40) 17
Littleton, Lowell,	Rev. Theo. Edson, Pres. Wm. S. Merrill, Sec.	Mar. 1837, Feb. 1834,	(75) 168
Lowell, Y. Men's,	J. B. Dinsmore, Pres. S. B. Simonds, Sec.	1836,	110
Lowell, Female, Medford, Natick,	Edward Walcutt, Pres. Nathan Rice, Sec.	Dec. 1834, Dec. 1836,	163
Reading, Reading, Female,	Mrs. H. Hartshorn, Pres. Louisa Waketield, Sec.	Mar. 1833, Mar. 1833,	
Reading, South,	Dea. Jacob Eaton, Pres. A. G. Sweetser, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	70

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Reading, South, Female,	Priscilla Smiley, Pres. Sarah G. Waitt, Sec.	Dec. 1835.	(12) 50
Sherburne, Shirley, Stoneham,	Abijah Bryant, Pres. Levi D. Smith, Sec.	Jan. 1838.	60
Sudbury, Female, Townsend, Waltham, Westford,	Rev. Caleb Blake, Pres. George Brown, Sec.	Mar. 1837.	115
Weston, Woburn,		Nov. 1834.	

Total number of Societies, 36.

### NORFOLK COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Norfolk County,	Gen. Appleton Howe, Pres.	Jan. 1838,	
Braintree,	Dr. Sam. Mulliken, Pres.	Ap. 1835,	(19) 250
Dorchester,	O. P. Bacon, Sec.	Dec. 1835,	(108)
Dorchester, Female,			
Foxboro',	F. D. Holbrook, Pres.	Mar. 1836,	61
Franklin,	Wm. W. Linfield, Sec.		
Randolph, East,			
Roxbury, Female,	Lewis Allen, Pres.	Ap. 1837,	
Walpole,	Eliphalet Rhodes, Sec.	Dec. 1836,	70
Weymouth and Braintree,	Elias Richards, Pres.	Mar. 1836,	143
Weymouth,	Appleton Howe, Pres. Atherton N. Hunt, Sec.		
Weymouth & Braintree, F.	Rhoda H. Perkins, Pres. Hannah C. Fifield, Sec.	Sept. 1835.	(30) 60
Weymouth, South,			
Weymouth, South, Female,	Hannah Pratt, Pres.	Nov. 1835,	(13) 125
Weymouth, South, F. Juv.	Eliza T. Loud, Sec. E. T. Loud, Pres.		
	Betsey J. Pratt, Sec.	Oct. 1837,	65
Wrentham,			
Wrentham, Female,	Martha Cowell, Pres.	Ap. 1837,	90
Wrentham, Juv. Cent,	Susan Mann, Sec.		

Total number of Societies, 18.

### PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Plymouth County,			
Abington,		Mar. 1836,	(40)
Abington, Female,	Mrs. Mehitable Hunt, Pres. Mrs. H. Ward, Sec.	Aug. 1837,	120
Abington, East,			
Bridgewater, North,	Jesse Perkins, Pres.		
Carver, North,			

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Duxbury,	Hon. Seth Sprague, Pres. Wm. H. Sampson, Sec.	Nov. 1837,	not aux 150
Eel River, Hanover, Hingham,	Increase S. Smith, Pres. Jairus Lincoln, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	
Kingston,	Dea. Seth Drew, Pres. Justus Harlow, Sec.		102
Marshfield, Juvenile, Middleboro', Old Colony,	Horatio G. Wood, Pres. George Russell, Sec.	July 1834,	301
Plymouth,	Solomon Richmond, Pres. Edwin Morton, Sec.		30
Plymouth, Female,	Mrs. L. B. Clark, Pres. Mrs. Phebe Cotton, Sec.	Feb. 1837,	90
Plymouth, Juvenile,	Miss L. Harlow, Pres. Miss M. A. Paty, Sec.	July 1837,	25
Scituate, South,	Rev. S. J. May, Pres. E. L. Sewall, Sec. N. Div. W. P. Tilden, Sec. S. Div.	1835,	180
Total number of Societies, 18.			

# WORCESTER COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Worcester County, N. Div.	J. T. Everett, Pres. Edward Kendall, Sec.		
Worcester County, S. Div.			
Ashburnham, Boylston,	Rev. W. H. Sanford, Pres. James Davenport, Sec.		140
Boylston, Female, Boylston, West, Brookfield, East, Brookfield, South, Brookfield, West,	Dea. Josiah Henshaw, Pres. Amos Gilbert, Sec.	July 1837,	34
Fitchburg,	Alpheus Kimball, Pres. B. Snow, Jr. Sec.	Jan. 1837,	66
Fitchburg, Female,	Mrs. D. L. Gill, Pres. Harriet A. Kimball, Sec.	Feb. 1837,	(27) 96
Gardner, Grafton, Hardwick, Harvard,	Rev. Jno. Farr, Pres. Dr. E. A. Holman, Sec.		
Holden,	Rev. Elnathan Davis, Pres. Ethan Davis, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	314
Leicester, North, Female,	Lucy Earl, Pres. Eliza Earl, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	20
Mendon, North,	Obadiah Wood, Pres. J. G. Metcalf, Sec.	July 1837,	100
Millville, Female, Millbury,	Elias Forbes, Pres. Elias Lovell, Sec.	July 1836, Jan. 1835,	(50) 130

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Milbury, West,	Joseph Griggs, Pres. Andrew A. Marcy, Sec.	Oct. 1837.	34
Northboro', Paxton,	John P. Grosvenor, Pres. David G. Davis, Sec.		70
Princeton, Rutland,	Rev. E. Demond, Pres. Dea. Wm. Mead, Pres. Cyrus Rogers, Sec.		
Shrewsbury, Upton, Female,	Hannah Wood, Pres. C. B. Starkweather, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	20
Uxbridge, Uxbridge, Female, Westminster,	Richard Battey, Pres. Sylvia Willard, Pres. Aaron Wood, Pres. Edward Kendall, Jr. Sec.	Mar. 1834, Mar. 1836,	310 57
Worcester, Willimansit,			

Total number of Societies, 32.

## MR. CALHOUN'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following is a copy of these resolutions, as they passed the Senate of the United States :

1. Resolved, That in the adoption of the federal constitution, the States adopting the same acted, severally, as free, independent and sovereign States; and that each, for itself, by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with the view to its increased security against all dangers, *domestic* as well as foreign, and the more perfect and secure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political and social.

2. Resolved, That in delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the federal government, the States retained, severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions and police, to the full extent to which those powers were not thus delegated, and are alone responsible for them; and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions and police of the others, on any ground, political, moral or religious, or under any pretext whatever, with the view to their alteration or subversion, is not warranted by the constitution, tending to endanger the domestic peace and tranquillity of the States interfered with; subversive of the objects for which the constitution was formed; and, by necessary consequence, tending to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

3. Resolved, That this government was instituted and adopted by the several States of this Union as a common agent, in order to carry into effect the powers which they had delegated by the constitution for their mutual security and prosperity; and that, in fulfilment of this high and sacred trust, this government is bound so to exercise its powers, as not to interfere with the stability and security of the domestic institutions of the States that compose this Union; and that it is the solemn duty of the government to resist, to the extent of its constitutional power, all attempts by one portion of the Union, to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another, or to weaken or destroy such institutions.

4. Resolved, That domestic slavery, as it exists in the Southern and Western States of this Union, composes an important part of the domestic institutions inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an important element in the apportionment of powers among the States; and that no change of opinion, or feeling, on the part of the other States of the Union, in relation to it, can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic attacks thereon, with the view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the States respectively, on

entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union ; and as such, are a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

5. Resolved, That the interference by the citizens of any of the States with the view to the abolition of slavery in this District, is endangering the rights and security of the people of this District ; and that any act or measure of Congress designed to abolish slavery in this District, would be a violation of the faith implied in the cessions by the States of Virginia and Maryland, a just cause of alarm to the people of the slaveholding States, and have a direct and inevitable tendency to disturb and endanger the Union.

And, resolved, That any attempt of Congress to abolish slavery in any territory of the United States in which it exists, would create serious alarm, and just apprehension, in the States sustaining that domestic institution ; would be a violation of good faith towards the inhabitants of any such territory, who have been permitted to settle with, and hold slaves therein, because the people of any such territory have not asked for the abolition of slavery therein, and because when any such territory shall be admitted into the Union as a State, the people thereof will be entitled to decide that question exclusively for themselves.

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#### MR. CLAY'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the series of resolutions presented by Mr. Clay, in the U. S. Senate, as a substitute for Mr. Calhoun's resolutions, but which were rejected :

Resolved, That the institution of domestic slavery, as now existing in many of the States of this confederacy, is subject to the exclusive power and control of those States respectively ; and that no other State, nor the people of no other State, nor Congress, possess, or can rightfully exercise, any power or authority, whatever, to interfere, in any manner whatever, therewith.

Resolved, That if any citizens of the United States, regardless of the spirit of peace, harmony, and union, which should ever animate the various members of the confederacy and their respective citizens, shall present to the Senate any petitions, touching the abolition of slavery, in any of the States in which it exists, all such petitions shall be instantly rejected, without debate, and without further or other proceedings thereon, as relating to an object palpably beyond the scope of the constitutional power of Congress.

Resolved, That when the District of Columbia was ceded by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States, domestic slavery existed in both of these States, including the ceded ter-

ritory ; and that, as it still continues in both of them, it could not be abolished within the District, without a violation of that good faith, which was implied in the cession and in the acceptance of the territory ; nor, unless compensation were made to the proprietors of slaves, without a manifest infringement of an amendment to the constitution of the United States ; nor without exciting a degree of just alarm and apprehension in the States recognizing slavery, far transcending, in mischievous tendency, any possible benefit which could be accomplished by the abolition.

Resolved, Therefore, that it is the deliberate judgment of the Senate, that the institution of domestic slavery ought not to be abolished within the District of Columbia ; and it earnestly hopes that all sincere friends of the Union, and of harmony and general tranquillity, will cease to agitate this disturbing question. But the Senate feels itself, at the same time, constrained, from a high sense of duty, in respect to the constitutional right of petition, to declare that it holds itself bound to receive and respectfully to treat any petition, couched in decorous language, which may be presented by citizens of the United States, touching slavery within the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That it would be highly inexpedient to abolish slavery in Florida, the only territory of the United States in which it now exists, because of the serious alarm and just apprehensions which would be thereby excited, in the States sustaining that domestic institution ; because the people of that territory have not asked it to be done, and, when admitted into the Union, will be exclusively entitled to decide that question for themselves ; and, also, because it would be in violation of a solemn compromise, made, at a memorable and critical period in the history of this country ; by which, while slavery was prohibited north, it was admitted south, of the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, north latitude.

Resolved, That no power is delegated by the constitution to Congress, to prohibit, in or between the States tolerating slavery, the sale and removal of such persons as are held in slavery by the laws of their States.

Resolved, That, whilst the Senate, with painful regret, has seen the perseverance of certain citizens of the United States in the agitation of the abolition of domestic slavery, thereby creating distrust, and discontent, and dissatisfaction among the people of the United States, who should ever cherish towards each other fraternal sentiments—it beholds, with the deepest satisfaction, every where prevailing, an unconquerable attachment to the Union, as the sure bulwark of the safety, liberty, and happiness of the people of the United States.